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## THE SIDI'S INCIDENT AND THE SURAT FACTORY'S DEMANDS IN 1683

By

AL. G. PAWAR, Kolhapur.

The principal English factory on the western coast of India was Surat before Bombay took its place in course of time. The relations between the gentlemen at Surat and Aurangzib were never smooth and, before the end of the 17th century, they experienced the worst treatment at the hands of the Emperor. They did not lose any opportunity of vindicating their grievances and applying for the favours of the Emperor. One such occasion arose in the year 1683.

The Sidi of Danda-Rajapur, as he was described, acted at this time as the admiral of the Emperor and was allowed to winter his ships at Bombay. One day in May, 1683, an ugly incident occurred for no known cause. One of the Sidi's men attacked two English soldiers one of whom died of the wound. The Sidi instead of dealing with the man as an offender tried to protect him and sent him off to Surat. The English Presidency sent a protest to the Governor of Surat heavily complaining against the Sidi. "Jno. Chase and Francis Day", reads the Surat Consultation of June 20, 1683, "waited on the Governour with the President's address, who (i.e. the Governor) seemed to be very concerned at the occasion caused by the Siddy's indiscretion in setting so great a value upon such inconsiderable fellow (i.e. the offender), keeping him from justice and thereby raising so high a dispute betwixt our Government and him and being made sensible of what evil consequence the effect may be before there can be reconciliation if such notorious crimes are not punished according to desert for public example to deter the committing such enormities for the future. The Governour returned an order to the Siddy (to be forwarded by the President) positively requiring him to deliver up the person that committed the murder of the Englishman to public execution upon the Island."<sup>2</sup>

When matters were being accommodated so favourably to the English, another ugly incident was committed, this time, by the Captain of an English ship. The first news that reached the Presidency at Surat was recorded in their Consultation of July 12, which says, "Last night arrived to us the unwelcome news of the *Berkley Castles* firing several guns at the Siddy in his

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1. The account of the incident given here is mainly based on *Factory Records, Surat*, No. 5 (1682-1702), India Office Library. A brief narration of the event based on original papers may be found in ORME's, *Historical Fragments*, p. 173. See also BANAJI's *Bombay and the Sidis*, pp. 35-36.

2. *F. R. Surat*, No. 5.

ship at some affront that his people had offered which caused Captain Consett with his mate to go on board him (i.e. the Sidi) to demand satisfaction where they received several wounds and were forced to leap overboard to save themselves, and getting on board their own ship sent the siddy several shot in return of his abuse to him, acting thus rashly without orders or knowledge of the Deputy Governor."<sup>3</sup>

It was the Sidi's turn now to acquaint the Governor of Surat with the offence committed by the English. In the letter he wrote to the Governor he said that the English captain with 25 men, who were under the influence of drink "as they generally are", went to the Sidi and peremptorily demanded the delivery of the Pathan who had formerly killed the Englishman. The English captain and his associates called names at the Sidi and drew swords at him which he luckily warded off. It was then that his men attacked the captain and his mate who had to leap overboard to save themselves. So soon the Englishmen reached their "Longboat" they fired 25 guns and wounded 24 men of the Sidi.<sup>4</sup>

In the second letter that the Sidi wrote to the Governor he made still greater capital out of that incident. This letter was passed on to the English Factory (at Surat) who in their Consultation of July 13, give a summary of its contents. "He very much complains," reads the Consultation, "of the continual abuses he receives from us, which so wearied him that he earnestly pressed the Governor would give him leave and order him to leave the Port (i.e. Bombay) and go to Bacain<sup>5</sup> where he was sure to be kindly received by the Portuguese and had been courted by them to come there. For Sombagee<sup>6</sup> having made such incursions into their Country they would esteem his presence (being Sombagee's Enemy) some security to them."<sup>7</sup>

The Surat Council were terribly frightened when they heard the news of the outrage committed by their Captain. They immediately dismissed him and they were the first to break the news to the Governor of Surat even before he had received the letters from the Sidi. They even requested the Governor to take measures so that the news may not be carried to the Emperor. They ordered their servants at Bombay to maintain strict discipline amongst their men. Thus by their prudence and quickness the English avoided a catastrophe which otherwise might have befallen them.

The Sidi's incident only emphasized the need of the Surat Factory for having its position made clear with respect to the Mughal power. For some time past they were feeling the necessity of establishing a contact with the Mughal Court as is made clear by their Consultation of May 17. It says, "Being resolved on, per Consultation of the 17th January past, to entertain

3. *F. R. Surat*, No. 5.

4. *Idem*.

5. Bassein, at that time in the possession of the Portuguese.

6. Chatrapati Sambajee, the successor of Shivaji.

7. *F. R. Surat*, No. 5.

a person on the Hon. Company's accounts, to have his residence at Court for the better management of our business there and to give us punctual Intelligence of Petit's and Bowcher's Proceedings and what other affairs may occur worthy our notice which may be of great use to us; have this day entertained one by name Roopjee Jeerraag for this service at 600 rups., per annum salary to commence from the ensuing June".<sup>9</sup>

Before the month of June came, the Sidi's incident occurred as described above. The Surat Factory learned the full details of the outrage committed by the Sidi's soldier at Bombay from a letter written by the Deputy Governor of that place on May 29. They thought that merely sending a person to the Mughal's Court to get advices was not enough. They therefore reconsidered their former decision and resolved :—"We might have due satisfaction for the lives of our King's subjects."<sup>10</sup> They had moreover, heard that Messrs. Petit and Bowcher had "already spent upwards of Rs. 10,000 in carrying on the designs at Court" and speedy measures were necessary in order to counteract those designs.<sup>11</sup> The Factory, therefore, came to the conclusion that they should submit a representation to the Emperor. For this they chose "Sudderung Pheroo, an ancient servant to the Hon. Company" to act as their Vakil at the Court. The Vakil was requested to make best use of his position and obtain some concessions for the Company. A detailed list of their requests was handed over to the Vakil. Though most of these are commercial in nature, some of them shed a good bit of light on the Mughal administration of those times. Hence the list is reproduced here.

"Remembrances given to Suddarung Pheroo to manage as our Vakeel at Court :—

1. To endeavour the bringing down our customs to 2 per cent.
2. For a warehouse nearer the Custom house to put our goods, directly into, from whence to be cleared as the Dutches are and not brought into the Custom house to our loss and damage as now.
3. Account (of) Customs to be made up yearly and then cleared of, not money demanded monthly or as the Governor pleaseth to our great disturbance.
4. We have a great evil on us from the officers of the several places where wee bye goods. They stop them and are troublesome for a receipt from the Customs of Surat which is a great hinderance and sometimes a charge; when it is well known wee sell not our goods, but they come really down to Surat, are shipped of and pay custom.

---

8. They were formerly servants of the Company but had lately turned "Interlopers" and were seeking the protection of the Emperor. *F. R. Surat*, No. 5.

9. *F. R. Surat*, No. 5.

10. *F. R. Surat*, No. 5, Con. June 15, 1683.

11. *Idem*.

To procure an order that our goods pass freely without stopping or any hinderance.

5. Whereas wee provide goods at Mocha which come in the juncket from thence as Coho Alloes etc., all waies (always) favoured to carry it for Swally without Custom, being not brought for sale but to load for England. Yet receive some hinderance in These by some Governours and Customers and often become a charge. To procure a Parwanna to clear this for the future and put it beyond dispute.
6. Our goods imported and exported are opened by which wee receive damage and is what not required from as in other places, but our Invoyses are believed ; and our trade is so publick that if minded could but ill deceive the King. Therefore desire our words may be taken.
7. When our boats come from Swally wither laden or empty cannot be disposed of till searched which makes our boats by 3, 4, or more daies still, at such times as we have great need of them and in want of the goods they load for our ships bound for Europe to our great prejudice, which is only a formal thing.  
To be removed if possible.
8. Our goods robbed in the waies to be made good by the King or he that governs the place robbed in ; and in particular press for satisfaction for the goods robbed coming down from Dorngom.
9. Our debtors that deceive us either to be made good by the Governour in place, or out of King's cash, or allowed us such loss by the King's subjects in account customs.
10. That the Governor and other Officers laye noe hands on our English or other servants of the Country upon pretences of speaking against Mahomet or any of their laws. And if any dispute happen between Englishmen, Banians, Moor or any other in our service, that we decide it ourselves, and that Governour or Cazzezy not meddle with it, not although one party of our said servants, should fly to the crown's justice yet to be returned to us and not to have any hearing from the towne officers but let wholly to us.
11. Wee have trouble given us when bringing horses, the King's officers scalling (?) them for himself which is an infringing on our ancient privilege and discourageth us from bringing extraordinary good horses. Therefore desire noe horses wee bring be scaled for the King's use, but that we pass freely with them and dispose of them as we please.
12. We are agrieved often and much from the many officers continually sending for goods for which cannot get our money. That an order be procured that noe officers send to our houses for any goods, but if their occasions want any, it be sold them before the Governours of the places and he be obliged to see us paid.

13. We pay a duty at Broach of 18 per mille when besides we pay Surat Custom. The first is hard. Desire it may be taken of because we reap no benefit not disposing of any of our goods as others that pay that duty but really ship them of and the King hath his duty at exportation.
14. That our Europe goods pay but one custom at entrance after which free for us to send them up the country or reship them without paying any duty more.
15. If any of our English or others of our service shall be refractory on being called to account and fly to the Moors Protection then they will be delivered up, or our trade will be wholly destroyed and we shall not be able to keep our people in awe and bee in continual danger of being robbed having only our servants honesty to depend upon.
16. We have not respect as formerly whereby we are much discouraged. That the King order noe one show us the least affront or slighting of us.
17. That no English be entertained into pay by any, but on demand the Governour deliver them up to us, or may ruin our trade for want of our men to sail our ships or secure them home. And if any of our Englishmen shall run away and goe up the country then whichever place they may be mett with, then the Governour of the Towne of places deliver them up to our order.
18. We had taken from us in Ghasty Cauns time about 9 years agoe because of building the wall at Surat a piece of ground that was our garden and in it many good buildings. It was valued at rups. 20,000 for the which we were promised satisfaction but none given to this day. That the money be paid us or a piece of ground and somewhat proportional to our damage.
19. Our Bunder that we have enjoyed for these 80 years we are not masters of but have continual disturbances from those that forcibly bring their vessells thither. That they be withstrained and we enjoy it for our own ships and vessels.
20. We formerly paid for custom of Indices according to the rate of  $2\frac{5}{8}$  rups. per bale, whereas now for above three years wee are imposed on and the Indico valued at Surat and so pay custom accordingly. That we may enjoy our former privilege and not be forced to open the bales to our great prejudice.
21. Custom of money used to be taken out of the money in sale but now we are oppressed injustly for, when they weigh the Dollars or the like what weighs short is demanded and is forced from us, when it is well known that the money never holds out weight



and at the custom house they take out the whole parcels as come to hand."<sup>12</sup>

The comprehensive character of some of these demands is evident enough. We do not, however, know, what success attended the efforts made by the Vakil of the English. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the Vakil was sent at all. When the Factory decided to make their representation to the Emperor, only the Sidi's incident had occurred. Very soon, as described above, the firing by the English captain took place and the Factory was very much afraid of the consequences. In those circumstances the Presidency at Surat may have considered it prudent to sleep over the entire matter, including their own demands, till a better opportunity presented itself.

## PRAŚNAMĀLĀ OF KRISHNA BHATTA

(A rare specimen of Literary criticism in Sanskrit.)

By

C. KUNHĀN RAJA, Madras.

The Manuscript Collection in the Fort at Bikaner, Rajasthana, is one of the richest. The printed Catalogue of the Library by Rajendralal Mitra notices only under 3,000 manuscripts. But the Library actually contains about 10,000 manuscripts. Through the kindness of H. H. The Maharaja of Bikaner, I was enabled to spend many days in Bikaner on two different occasions, with a view to arrange and catalogue the Library completely. The work is now ended and the catalogue will soon be made available in print.

The name *Praśnamālā* does not appear in the Catalogue of Rajendralal Mitra. In the Library itself I noticed that the book was entered as a work on astronomy, or rather astrology, evidently on account of the element *praśna* in the name. When I read through the work during my complete examination of the collection, I noticed that it dealt with *Raghuvamśa*. The work contains a few problems about the text of the *Raghuvamśa* and their solutions. Some of the problems are really interesting; but the greatest interest for the work is that such questions were thought of in those ancient times. This is perhaps a unique work in Sanskrit.

The author is Kṛṣṇa, alias Hosiṅga. He lived in the court of Maharaja Sri Karansinghji of Bikaner in the seventeenth century. He is also the author of many other works in Sanskrit, although few works of his are known. Copies of some of them are available in Bikaner. One of them is *Kaṇvā-tamśa*, which is described in the Catalogue of Rajendralal Mitra with a note that it deals with the exploits of Kaṇva of the Mahābhārata and bears the number 235.

The work begins with a few introductory verses, as follows :

vettum vāñchatī gūḍham artham atulam kīrtim  
nijām rakṣitum  
bhūpān toṣayitum nṛpasya sakalam cakram ca  
yo vai guṇī  
nānāśāstrarahasyadīpanakarīm śrīpraśnamālām  
imām  
so 'yam kaṇthagatām karotu sukrīti hosiṅgakṛṣṇo-  
ditām  
cakram sevyam nṛpaḥ sevyo na sevyah kevalo  
nṛpaḥ  
nṛpacakrapramādena<sup>1</sup> vidvān pretatvam āgataḥ

---

1. *praśādena*.

gurumukhād ayam artho 'vagantavyah'. guṇaḥ kṛtātmasaṃskāra  
iti nyāyena guṇinām evātiśayitacamatkāraya bhavatiyaṃ<sup>2</sup> iti  
dhyeyam.

na kevalam kāvyamātre praśnasiddhāntamālikā  
vidyāsthāneṣu sarvatra prāyas tiṣṭhati sā yataḥ  
sthālīpulākanyāyena vidyāsthānāny udāhriyante. tathāhi,  
koṣe vyākaraṇe kāvye mimāṃsāyugale tathā  
dharmaśāstre 'thavā tarke nāṭake vāpi yājñike  
praśnasiddhāntamāleyam vartate gūḍhadīpikā  
yathāruci parair<sup>3</sup> grāhyā ittham vijñāpanā mama  
ādarśamukhaśobheva vaiduṣyam viduṣām api  
prakāśate nīce granthe vidurānandadāyake  
vidurānām ānandakaraṇam śreṣṭham ity uktam kālīdāseṇa.

ā paritoṣād viduṣām na sādhu manye prayoga-  
vijñānam

balavad api śikṣitānām ātmany apratyayam cetah<sup>4</sup>  
iti. vidvāṃso 'pi paravacanena toṣam āyānti. uktam ca prasanna-  
rāghave<sup>5</sup>.

api mudam upayānto vāgvilāsaiḥ svakiyaḥ  
parabhaṇiṭiṣu toṣam yānti santaḥ kiyantaḥ  
nijaḥḥanamakaraṇasyandapūṃśālavālaḥ  
kalaśasalīlasekam nehate kim rasālaḥ<sup>6</sup>

At this stage,<sup>7</sup> the work begins. The first problem is thus stated by the  
author :

tatra raḡhukāvye praśno<sup>8</sup> yathā  
samāptapunarāttatvadoṣagrastam<sup>9</sup> padadvayam  
anityam upamānam ca katham nityasya tat kṛtam.

He explains the point thus :

ayam arthaḥ. Jagataḥ pitarāv ity etat padam<sup>10</sup> samprktāv iti  
ca vyartham. ākāṅkṣāvirahāt. idam ekam dūṣaṇam. dvitīyam ca :  
vāgarthayor ubhayor anityor upamānatvam nityayor pārvati-  
paramēśvarayor katham sambhavati<sup>11</sup> iti praśne. kair api tīkā-  
kārair idam nāsaṅkitam na vottaritam.

This problem is discussed in the work in great detail. As a matter of fact,  
this occupies nearly three fourths of the entire work.<sup>12</sup> I have with me a  
copy of the work, transcribed from Bikaner. The original is full of mistakes  
and the transcript is evidently no better.

2. gurumukhādāyovagantavah.

4. Sāmantala-Prastāvanā.

6. Act I, verse 19.

8. This is the 1st question.

10. etkam.

11. pratiśna sambhavati for katham sambhavati.

12. This occupies 142 pages out of 198 pages.

3. varair.

5. By Jayadeva.

7. P. 4 in my transcript.

9. samāptapunarāptavadoṣagrastam.

There ~~are~~ on the whole nine questions raised in the entire work. The work is incomplete. All the questions pertain to the first three cantos of the *Raghuvamśa* and there is a discussion on the colophon at the end of the first canto. There is no way of ascertaining whether the work continued like this for the whole of the *Raghuvamśa*. If it be so, then what is now available is only a very small fraction of the entire work. But if the work related only to the first three cantos, then what is missing can be only a very small portion.

After the point raised about the first verse in the first canto, the next point is about the meaning of the preposition *ā* in *so 'ham ājanmaśuddhānām* etc.<sup>13</sup> Why the work is called *Raghuvamśa* and not *Dilīpavamśa* or *Rāmanamśa* is another question<sup>14</sup>. In the passage :

vidheḥ sāyantanasyānte,<sup>15</sup>

the difficulty is raised that the Ṛṣi could not have seen the king after his evening rites.<sup>16</sup> Since the first is a long discussion, I deal with the rest and then I will come back to the first question.

#### QUESTION 2.

The second question starts on p. 143 of the copy in my possession. The question is put in the following verse :

maryādīkrtya janmādīn śuddhyādaḥ so 'ham ādiṣu  
vīgraham 'ye<sup>17</sup> prakurvanti bhrāntās te nātra saṃ-  
śayaḥ

Then he explains the point as follows :

ayam bhāvaḥ. so 'ham ājanmaśuddhānām iti padye janma maryādī-  
krtya iti<sup>18</sup> vīgraho na kartavyaḥ. na vā janmana ā iti vīgraham  
kṛtvā. ānartho maryādā vācyaḥ. maryādālakṣaṇajñānām<sup>19</sup> janmani  
śuddhatā nāyāti. tathā hi : tena vineti maryādālakṣaṇasya vaiyā-  
karaṇaḥ karaṇāt.<sup>20</sup> lakṣyam ca ā mukteḥ saṃsāraḥ. muktim vinā  
saṃsāra iti. prakṛte tathārthakaraṇe<sup>21</sup> janmani śuddhatā nāyāti.  
mūlāśuddhyā uparitanā<sup>22</sup> śuddhir aprayojikā.

Then he continues his own explanation as follows :

tasmād abhividdhir evātra ānartho grāhyaḥ. tallakṣaṇam ca tena  
sahety abhividhiḥ.<sup>23</sup> lakṣyam ca ābālam haribhaktiḥ.<sup>24</sup> bālam  
abhivyāpya haribhaktir ity arthaḥ. tena kṛtāyām janmābhivyāptāv  
uparitanā<sup>25</sup> śuddhir āyāti. evam phalodayam abhivyāpya karma,  
samudram abhivyāpya īśatvam, svargam abhivyāpya rathavartma  
ca<sup>26</sup> siddhyati. no ced vṛthāśramo bhavati.

13. *Ragh.* I—5.

14. Question 3.

15. *Ragh.* I—56.

16. Question 7.

17. *ye* omitted.

18. *iti* omitted.

19. *maryādālakṣaṇajñānā*.

20. When it excludes.

21. *tathārtham karaṇe*.

22. *uparitena*.

23. When it includes.

24. *haribhaktibhiḥ*.

25. *tena kṛte janmābhivyāpyai voparitena śuddhir āyāti*.

26. *ca* omitted.

So far as I know the traditional interpretation is to take the preposition *ā* as meaning *abhidhi* and not *maryādā*. Mallinātha is not clear on the point.

### QUESTION 3.

The third question<sup>27</sup> starts on p. 146 in the copy in my possession. It is stated as follows :

dilipādīn parityajya raghuvaṁśo 'yam īritah  
raghuvaṁśasamākhyāyām bijam kenāvalokitam<sup>28</sup>

The point is explained as follows :

dilipānām anvayam rāmānvayam cety apahāya raghūnām iti uktam.  
tatra kim bijam iti praśne idam ābhāti. dvitīyasarge<sup>29</sup>.  
vaṁśasya kartāram anantakīrtim  
sudakṣiṇāyām tanayam yayāce  
ity uktam.<sup>30</sup> tena vaṁśakartṛtvam raghor iti niścīyate. ata eva  
raghuvaṁśa iti samākhyā sādhu saṅgacchate.

This question is put as the fourth, though it is actually the third. The explanation is only a re-statement of the doubt, unless we assume that the title *Raghuvaṁśa* is not given by Kālidāsa and that the point raised here is about later people having called the work by the name of *Raghuvaṁśa*. But such an assumption is also not possible since the question is raised not with reference to the colophon but with reference to the statement of Kālidāsa himself. The interesting thing in the point is that such a question has been raised at all at that time, not the reply.

### QUESTION 4.

The next,<sup>31</sup> which is really the fourth, but which is given as the fifth in the work, is :

grhāṇa śāstram yadi garva eṣa te<sup>32</sup>  
iti pāṭham paṭhati. tan na. rāyamukuteṇa  
grhāṇa śāstram yadi sarga eṣa te  
iti pāṭho likhitaḥ. sargo nāma niścayaḥ. yadi te śauryaniścayaḥ  
tadā śāstram grhāṇa iti tenaiva vyākhyātam. tad idam avijñāya  
garvam iti paṭhitam. tatreyam kārīkā :  
śāstragrahe tu garvasya tyāga evocitas tava  
pramāṇam mukoṭo rājñām vartate sarvadā yataḥ  
iti.

It seems that there is a break in the text at this stage. What follows is on a different point. I am not sure who it is who reads garva for sarga in the above passage.

27. This is put as *atha caturthaḥ*.

29. *dvitī* omitted.

31. p. 146.

28. *kevalokitam*.

30. *yayācetyuktam*.

32. *Ragh. III—51*.

## QUESTION 5.

The next point,<sup>33</sup> not given as a separate point in the copy I have, is about the word *sudakṣiṇāsūnuḥ* instead of *dilipāsūnuḥ* in  
*sudakṣiṇāsūnur api nyavartata*<sup>34</sup>

The passage is as follows :

*sudakṣiṇāsūnur api nyavartata*  
 iti. atra sākṣād aśvagrahaṇasāmarthyābhlāveṇa nirbalatvasūcanāya  
*dilipāsūnur iti vihāya sudakṣiṇety uktam.*

## QUESTION 6.

The next question<sup>35</sup> is put as the sixth and if we take the immediately preceding one as a separate one, it is really the sixth. The point is raised in the following verse :

*nāsti pallavarāgasya jñānam kṣodakṣamam*<sup>36</sup> *satām*  
*tathāpi bahavas tasya*<sup>37</sup> *vyākhyām kurvanti*  
*garvataḥ*

This is with reference to the word *pallavarāgalāmram* appearing in the verse :

*sañcārapūtāni digantarāṇi kṛtvā dinānte nilayāya*  
*gantum*  
*pracakrame pallavarāgatāmraḥ prabhā pataṅgasya*  
*muneś ca dhenuḥ*<sup>38</sup>

The author says :

*dvitiyasarge pallavarāgatāmram iti dhenuviśeṣaṇam uktam. tatra*  
*pallavasya rāgaḥ pallavarāgaḥ. rāgo raktimā. tadvat tāmraḥ dhenur*  
*iti vyākurvanti.*

This is slightly different from the commentary of Mallinātha now available in print. The difference is only in wording. The commentary of Mallinātha is :

*pallavasya rāgo varṇaḥ pallavarāgaḥ. rāgo 'nuraktau mātস্যe*  
*kleśādu lohitādiṣu iti śāsataḥ. sa eva tāmra (perhaps to read*  
*sa iva tāmra) pallavarāgatāmra. pataṅgasya sūryasya prabhā*  
*kāntiḥ.*

Mallinātha does not relate the word to *dhenu*.

Then the author gives his criticism as follows :

*tan na. dravyatvena pradhānabhūtāyā*<sup>39</sup> *gor apradhānena rakta-*  
*guṇenopamānopameyabhāvāyogāt.*

33. p. 150.

34. *Ragh. III*—67.

35. p. 152.

36. *kṣodakṣam.*

37. *raghuyuh stasya.*

38. *Ragh. II*—25.

39. *pradhānabhūtāyā.*

Then he gives another view :

yad api pallavasya rāgo nāma khaṇḍa iti vyakhyāne nokta<sup>40</sup>  
iti tan na. tathā sati lāghavāt pallavatāmrām ity eva syāt kṛtam  
rāgapadena.

He gives his own explanation as follows :

tasmād atretham samādhānam prāmāṇikāḥ kurvanti. pallavarāga  
iti maṇivīṣeṣasya samjñā. puṣyarāgaḥ padmarāgaḥ itivat pallava-  
rāgo 'pi maṇivīṣeṣa eva.

Then the author gives the opinion of authoritative commentators in sup-  
port of his explanation :

abhiyuktena hemādriṇā appayadikṣitais ca pallavarāgapadena  
maṇivīṣeṣa uktāḥ, uktāḥ ca dīkṣitaiḥ svakoṣe yogāṭarāga iti cakra-  
vartivyākhyānāt maṇivīṣeṣa eva pallavarāgapadenocyate iti.

At this stage the author enters into a discussion on the question whether  
a lexicon is always authoritative and incidentally he takes up the rule of  
interpretation in the Mahābhāṣya :

vyākhyānato viśeṣapratipattiḥ : na tu sandehād apramāṇam.

Then he concludes the discussion with :

tasmād vyākhyānato viśeṣapratipattiḥ iti mahābhāṣyam hṛdi nidhā-  
ya sarvaśāstrapārāṅgatair appayadikṣitaiḥ uktam—pallavarāgo  
maṇivīṣeṣa eva ; yogāṭarāga<sup>41</sup> iti cakravartivyākhyānāt—iti.<sup>42</sup>

Then there is a long discussion on points not quite relevant to the subject  
at hand and the section closes.

#### QUESTION 7

The next question<sup>43</sup> is about the meaning of the verse :

vidheḥ sāyantanasyānte sa dadarśa taponidhim  
anvāsitam arundhatyā svāhayeḥ havirbhujam.<sup>44</sup>

This is the question :

vidheḥ sāyantanasyānte sa dadarśa taponidhim  
iti. atra antapadena homasamāptirūpo 'rtho yadi grhyeta tadā  
homānte dhenor āgamane yat<sup>45</sup>

iti vādina evāsya hotur āhutiśāghanam

anindyā nandinī nāma dhenur āvavṛte<sup>46</sup> vanāt<sup>47</sup>

ity āhutiśāghanatvam<sup>48</sup> dhenor uktam tad anupapannam. homānte  
āgatāyā āhutiśāghanatvayogāt. sāyaṅkālikadugdham vinā<sup>49</sup> homas-  
yāsambhāvāc ca.

40. vyākhyānoktadoṣa.

41. yogāḍharāga.

42. p. 156.

43. p. 160.

44. Ragh. I—56.

45. sa iti for yat. It can also be sati yat.

46. dhenur āt vavṛte.

47. Ragh. I—82.

48. vamenāhutiśāghanatvam.

49. na extra after vinā.

This is the most intelligent question in the whole work. The cow returned from the forest only after the king saw the sage. There the cow is described as what provides the milk for the sage's rites. How then can we say that the sage had finished his rites when the king saw him?

Therefore he gives a rather round-about explanation. This is the way in which he explains the verse :

tasmāt

antaḥ syād deśanāśayoḥ

iti kośāt sāyantanasya ante ity anena sāyantanaśālmasya deśe<sup>50</sup>  
homaśālāyam<sup>51</sup> munim dadarśa ity antaḥ.

Then why did Kālidāsa say sāyantanasyānte and not homaśālāvām? Here also the author has an explanation, which is :

pathikāḥ sāyankāle samāyānti iti kṛtvā homaśālūpadam vihāya  
sāyantanaḥ paryantam gatam.

This is one explanation : says the author :

ity ekā vyākhyā.

The other explanation is :

yadvā sa taponidhim dadarśa. kam iva. sāyantanavidher ante  
sāyantanahomānte havirbhujam iva iti vyavahitenānvayaḥ. rātrau  
sauryam tejo vahnāḥ āviśati. prātas tu vahnitejas sūryaḥ āviśati  
iti spaṣṭam uktam śrutau.

And the śruti passage is quoted here. This closes the consideration of the point.

#### QUESTION 8

The next point<sup>52</sup> is only indicated and he says that the point is dealt with on another work of his called *Śāstrīyapraśnamālā* :

athātharvanidhes tasya<sup>53</sup>

ity uktam. tatra sarvavedanidhes tasya<sup>54</sup> atharvav<sup>55</sup>danidhitvam  
katham iti praśne śāstrīyapraśnamālāyām uttaram nigaditam.

#### QUESTION 9

The next question is :

atha nayanasaṃuttaham jyotir atrer iva dyauḥ<sup>56</sup>

ity atra candram iveti vaktavye atrer nayanasaṃuttaham jyotir itye-  
tatparyantam kavinā katham dhāvanam kṛtam. tatreyam kārīkā-

dyauś candram iti vaktavye muner nayanasaṃ-  
bhavam

jyotiś śrīkālīdāśena proktam tatra kim uttaram.

atrottaram jagaddharenoktam—kaveḥ prauḍhoktir iyam iti.

50. *sāyantanahoma* = *sāyam* = *deśe*.

51. *sāyankāle* extra after *homaśālāyām*.

52. p. 163.

53. *Ragh.* I—59.

54. *tathā* for *tasya*.

55. *Ragh.* II—75.



Then there is the discussion on what is meant by *prauḍhokti*. He quotes Daṇḍin and many other authorities and also his own work in this connection.

The last point<sup>56</sup> is about the colophon. The author says that all commentators are silent on the point and he tries to give his own explanation to the best of his ability.

iti śrīraghuvaṃśādivākyaajā yādṛśī matiḥ  
 sāksaraiḥ sāksarārūḍhā kāryety evaṃ nigadyate  
 akṣarārūḍhā ityanena lekhanīśatravo vyadhikarāṇavācadū...kā<sup>57</sup>  
 nirastāḥ.<sup>58</sup> raghuvaṃśety upalakṣaṇam. iti śrībhāgavate ityāda<sup>59</sup>  
 sarvatrayam praśnaḥ. tatra sarve ṭīkākārah suptāḥ eva. mayā tu  
 yathāmati padārthapradarśanapūrvakāḥ śābdabodhaprakāro likhyate

Then the various meanings of the word *iti* is given by *sūktiratnākara* are given. Then follow the meanings given by Amara, also its commentaries and other lexicographers.

The work ends abruptly. The rest of the work is not available and there is no way of ascertaining the real extent of the work.

The work quotes many authors and works, some of which are rare and important, though many are well known.

#### QUESTION 1

Now I take up the first question about the opening verse of the *Raghuvaṃśa*.

The discussion starts with the superiority of Lakṣmī over Pārvatī and various authorities are quoted. Various works are also cited to show that the worship should have been made for Viṣṇu and Śrī and not Śiva and Pārvatī. This occupies 44 pages in my copy. The conclusion of the discussion<sup>60</sup> is :

tasmāt--

vāgarthāv iva samprktau vāgarthapratipattaye  
 jagataḥ pitarau vande lakṣmīnārāyaṇāv ubhau

iti viḥāya pārvatīpārameśvarau iti katham uktam.

Then he gives the reply as follows :

atrocyate. prācīnaṭīkākāreṇa mallināthena atra samāhitam. tatreyam  
 mama kārikā--

grānthikam pravādāmy atra samādhānam nirā-  
 mayam

śābdārthadhārakāv etau purāṇād avadhāritau.

56. p. 179. Here there is some confusion. The previous section ends—*iti sapṭamaḥpraśne siddhāntottaram*. Then it is said—*athāṣṭamaḥ praśnaḥ*. But on page 163 also we had *iti sapṭamaḥ athāṣṭamaḥ*.

57. Some syllables missing.

58. *nirastā*.

59. *bhāgavatetyāda*.

60. p. 45.

Then the *vāyupurāṇa* is quoted in support of this statement and the author proceeds :<sup>61</sup>

tasmād vāgarthayoḥ pārvatīparameśvarādhīnatvāt tāv eva tat-kāmena vandyau.

Then follows the question<sup>62</sup> why the term Pārvatī is used and not Dākṣaiṇī. The reply is :

pārvatī eva brahmopadeśakartṛtvam na dākṣaiṇīyā iti kṛtā dākṣaiṇīmahēśvarau iti noktam.

For this authorities are quoted.

Then the use of the word *samprktau* is justified<sup>63</sup> as follows :

atha vāgarthapratipattiyartham pārvatīparameśvarayoḥ<sup>64</sup> śabdārthobhayadhārayor namaskārāt tatrobhavaḥprāptiḥ. param tv atyantaviśiṣṭayoḥ tayor prāptau satyām śabdacitrārthacitrobhava-kāvyarūpatvād<sup>65</sup> adhamakāvyatvam syāt. ata āha samprktau iti.

Then the question of want of propriety between the *upamāna* which is *anītya* and *upameya* which is *nītya*, is taken up :<sup>66</sup>

atha nityayor nityasamprkṭayor pārvatīparameśvarayor anitya-samprkṭābhyām vāgarthābhyām katham upamānopameyabhāvāḥ samañjasāḥ.

Here it is said that in the *Mīmāṃsā* it is established that *śabda* and its relation are both eternal. So the term *samprktau* applies not only to parvatī-parameśvara but also to *vāgrtha*.

The propriety of the term *jagataḥ pitarau* is also taken up.<sup>67</sup> It is not meant merely to fill up the metrical gap. There is no defect called *samāpta-punarāttatva*. This is the explanation :

jagataḥ pitarāv iti tu nirākāṅkṣam iti cen na. Tayor namaskārāt vāgarthayor jñāne jāte 'pi tadracanākartṛvasāmarthyam namaskartus tadā bhavati yadā namaskārye kartṛtvam syāt. ata uktam jagataḥ pitarāv iti. jagatkartṛnamaskāreṇa svasyāpi kāvyakartṛtvam samāpayatūti kṛttvā jagataḥ pitarāv ity uktam.

The author says that Kālidāsa did not worship Parvati and Parameśvara because he was a Śaivaite, but because there was a special purpose. This is what he says :<sup>68</sup>

tad evam pārvatīparmeśvarayor namaskāraकरणे उद्धारतवाचनानाम<sup>69</sup> मूलत्वे सति पार्वत्युपāsakatayā tayor<sup>70</sup> namaskārah kṛta ity ananyagatikam samādhānam kurvantāḥ parāstāḥ.

61. p. 46.

62. p. 57.

63. p. 59.

64. *pārvatīparamā ananvastu* for *pārvatīparameśvarayor*.65. *namaskārāttvasyobhayaḥprāptiḥ*.

66. p. 60.

67. p. 69.

68. p. 141.

69. *udāhṛtavacanām*.70. *pārvatīupāsakatayor*

It has already been said that the author is one Hosiṅga Kṛṣṇa. His father was Rameśvarabhaṭṭa. This information is found in another work of his called *Duṣṭadamana*. There the colophon reads :

iti śrī hosiṅgopanāmakajanasthānasthitarāmeśvarabhaṭṭasakṛisūnu-  
bhaṭṭakṛṣṇaviracite saṭhike duṣṭadamanē etc.

His teacher is Nṛsiṃha Ṭhakkura, who it seems has written a commentary on the *Duṣṭadamana*. Towards the close of the work<sup>71</sup> there is the statement :

ityādi śrīnṛsiṃhaṭhakkurapraṇītāyām duṣṭadamanatīkāyām draṣṭav-  
yam.

Elsewhere<sup>72</sup> speaking about *Kāvyaṭprakāśa*, he says :

vyākhyātāñ caitad asmadgurucaraṇaiḥ śrīnṛsiṃhaṭhakkuraiḥ.

The author must have lived in the middle of the 17th century, since he was patronised by Maharaja Karansinghi of Bikaner, who was a contemporary of Sha Jahan.

He speaks about some of his works. One is *Duṣṭadamana*. This is also called *Karṇāvatamsa*, which is noticed in the Catalogue of Rajendralal Mitra as No. 235 and described as dealing with the exploits of Karṇa of *Mahābhārata*.

Another work of his is *Śāstrīyapraśnasiddhāntamālā*,<sup>73</sup> which is also mentioned frequently in this work. Many verses are also cited here as :

māmakam padyam.<sup>74</sup>

Then he quotes from a large number of works and authors. He mentions Hemādri,<sup>75</sup> who must be the commentator of Raghuvamśa. He mentions a Cakravartivyākhyāna<sup>76</sup> in his Kośa. The Kośa must be *Nāmasaṅgrahamālā*, of which there is a copy in the Adyar Library.<sup>77</sup> He mentions a Bhaṭṭopādhyāya as a commentator of *Murārīnāṭaka*<sup>78</sup> and in that commentary Murārī is said to be the son of Bhaṭṭavardhamāna.

He mentions lañja as a *Dākṣiṇātya* word. He says :<sup>79</sup>

kāryapratibandhanivṛttyartham tatpratighātārtham vā rājadhikṛte-  
bhyo yad diyate dhanam sa utkathavedaḥ utkocāparaparyāyah.  
lañja iti dākṣiṇātyabhāṣā.

There are references to Jagaddhara also.<sup>80</sup> A passage from Vāmana is attributed to Daṇḍin.<sup>81</sup> Hārāvalī is another work mentioned.<sup>82</sup> There is a citation from a work called *sūktiratnākara*,<sup>83</sup> which is perhaps a commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*. The passage is :

71. p. 196.

73. pp. 14, 148, 163.

75. pp. 153, 157.

77. see note 106 below.

79. p. 158.

81. p. 164.

72. p. 190.

74. pp. 167, 168, 169, 170.

76. pp. 154, 156.

78. p. 156.

80. pp. 164, 170, 176.

82. p. 169.

83. pp. 180, 182.

tatrādaḥ itisābdasya bahavo 'rthāḥ sūktiratnākaroḥkṛtāḥ pradārē-  
yante. itisābdaḥ kvacit siddhārthaviparyāsakṛt. gaur ity ayam āha  
iti. arthapadārthagośabdasya śabdapadārthakatām atra karoti.  
tathā na veti vibhāśā<sup>84</sup> ity atra svam<sup>85</sup> rūpam śabdasyāśabdasamjñā<sup>86</sup>  
iti śāstraprasiddham śabdapadārthakatvāpahāreṇārthakatām<sup>87</sup> karo-  
ti niṣdho vikalpāś ca vabhāśasamjñakāḥ ity arthaḥ etc. etc.<sup>88</sup>

There are certain verses cited by the author as written by prācīnas :

ālasyam sthiraṭām upaiti bhajate . āpilyam ud-  
yogitām  
mukutvam mitabhāṣitām vitanute mauḍhyam  
bhaved ārjavam  
pātrāpātravicāraṇādiviraḥ yacchaty udārātmatām  
mātar lakṣmi tava prasādavaśato doḥ . āpi syuḥ  
guṇāḥ<sup>89</sup>  
araṇyaruditem kṛtam śavaśarīram udvartitam  
sthale jalajaroḇaṇam suciram ūṣare varṣitam  
śvapuccham avanāmitam badhirakarnaḥ jāpāḥ  
kṛtaḥ  
kṛto 'ndhamukhadarpaṇo yad abudho nṛpaḥ sevi-  
taḥ<sup>90</sup>  
poto duṣṭaravārīrāśītarāṇe<sup>91</sup> dīpo 'ndhakārāgame .  
nirvāte vyajanam madāndhakariṇām darpopa-  
śāntyai smṛiḥ  
ittham tad bhuvi nāsti yasya vidhinā nopāyaciūtā  
kṛtā  
manye durjanacittavṛttihaṇe dhātāpi bhag-  
nodyamaḥ.<sup>92</sup>

An imitation of the last of these three verses is well known among the Cākyārs of Malabar, who recite it when they stage the third Act of *Pratiññā-yauḡandharāyana*. The verse, which is in Malayām, is :

dāhe taṇṇūr koṭiyavirahe kāntayoṭulla saṅgam  
tāpodreke taṇal atitamassaṇcaye ca pradīpāḥ  
pevellattil patanasamayē toṇiy ittham narāṇām  
āpatkālatt atinoru sukhaprāptiyot onum ovvā

The meaning is :

Water in thirst ; reunion with one's dear wife in painful separation ;  
shade when afflicted with hot sun ; lamp in utter darkness ; a boat  
when fallen in a flood—thus for men, when there is danger, there  
is nothing that can equal to a means for relief therefrom.

84. Pāṇini.

85. *svarūpam*.

86. PĀṆINI.

87. *śabda* = k = *padārthakatvāpahāreṇārthakatām*.

88. 195.

89. p. 15.

90. p. 145.

91. *dustaravārīrāśītarāṇe*.

92. p. 178.

Besides, the work mentions a large number of authors and their works. There are copious citations from vedic works and from Purāṇas. The others mentioned are :

Pakṣadharmīśra<sup>93</sup>, Mahamahopādhyāya<sup>94</sup>, vikramorvaśīya<sup>95</sup>, bhāravi<sup>96</sup> Mālatīmādhava<sup>97</sup> and Bhavabhūti<sup>98</sup>, Śrīharṣa<sup>99</sup> and other poets.

Amara<sup>100</sup> and its commentary by Rāyamukūṭa,<sup>101</sup> Medinī<sup>102</sup> and Viśva.<sup>103</sup>

The verse

padārthe vākyaavacanam is quoted as by Daṇḍin.<sup>104</sup>

His teacher Nṛsiṃha,<sup>105</sup> Appayadikṣita<sup>106</sup> and Cakravartin.<sup>107</sup>

Sāhityadarpaṇa<sup>108</sup> and Kavyaprakāśa.<sup>109</sup>

Hārāvalī.<sup>110</sup>

His own Duṣṭadamana<sup>111</sup> and Dharmasāroddhāra.<sup>112</sup>

Rativilāsa.<sup>113</sup>

The author mentions some Mahommadan ruler who must have been a great patron of Sanskrit learning and of Sanskrit Scholars. In dealing with the problem of the superiority of Śrī in relation to Pārvatī, there is this passage :

kim vāsasā nātra vicāraṇīyam

vāsaḥ pradhānam khalu yogyatāyāḥ

pītāmbaram vikṣya dadau tanūjām

digambaram vikṣya viṣam<sup>114</sup> samudraḥ.<sup>115</sup>

digambaram parityjya gaṅgā ratnākaram gatā

kaiva vārtānyanārīṇām tasmād dhanam upārjayet

iti. guḍhāśayena nabāb khān khānena svasevakāḥ<sup>116</sup> paṇḍitāḥ prṣṭāḥ—  
manuṣyeṣu kaḥ pumān iti. tataḥ paṇḍitamāninā tadāśayam budhvā idam  
uttaritam---

tiryaktām bhajatu pratārayatu vā dharma-  
kriyākoṇidam

hetum svām janānīm pibatv api surām śuddhām  
vadhūm muñcatu

93. p. 13 ; see note 119 below.

94. p. 181.

95. p. 185.

96. p. 187.

97. p. 166.

98. p. 188.

99. p. 160.

100. p. 182.

101. pp. 149, 183, 185.

102. p. 184.

103. p. 183. This is mentioned as the Kośa of Appayadikṣita.

104. p. 192. The verse is from Vāmana's *kāvyaśālikārasūtravṛtti* III—ii—2.

105. pp. 151, 190, 196.

106. pp. 72, 136, 153, 156. His kośa is referred to. It is *nāmasaṅgrahamāla*—

Adyar Library G-E-68, Berlin 806, Benares (*sūcīpatra*) p. 287.

107. pp. 154, 156.

108. p. 43.

109. pp. 190, 196.

110. p. 169.

111. pp. 144, 159, 177.

112. pp. 159, 160.

113. p. 61.

114. *diṣam*.

115. p. 9.

116. *svasevakāḥ*.

vedān nindatu vājinas tu janatām kim vānayā  
cintayā

lakṣmīr yasya grhe sa eva bhajati prāyo jagadvand-  
yatām.<sup>117</sup>

etena—yadi brāhmaṇaḥ śreṣṭhīḥ tadā yuṣmābhir asmatsevā katham vidhiyate.  
yadi yavanās tarhi bhavanto yavanā bhavantu—ity ākṣepaḥ<sup>118</sup> parāstaḥ.  
śrīmān yaḥ sa śreṣṭhaḥ. brāhmaṇas cec chrīmām. sa yavanair api sevyaḥ  
ityādi sahrdayaikavedyam.

Then the author starts a eulogy of Navab Khan Khan. He says :

prasaṅgāt khān khānasya buddhyatisāyāḥ kathyate—  
dhanyā pitr̥mukhī kanyā dhanyo mātṛmukhaḥ sutaḥ ity asyārtho  
yathāśrutah pratīyate. sa evoktaḥ. paścāt tena svakṛto r̥tha uktaḥ.  
svapatim vihāyānyeṣām puruṣānām mukham pitr̥mukhavād yā  
paśyati sā dhanyā. putras ca svastrim vihāyānyeṣām mukham  
mātṛmukhavād yaḥ paśyati sa dhanyaḥ. anyac ca :

aviditasukhaduḥkham nirguṇam vastu kiñcij  
jaḍamatir iha kaścin mokṣa ity ācacakṣe  
mama tu matagatena smeratārūnyaghūman-  
madakalamadirākṣyā nīvimokṣo hi mokṣaḥ<sup>119</sup>

iti pakṣadharāṇām padye paṇḍitaiḥ paṭhite s̥ti khān khāne-  
noktam—sarve kāmakrodhamadamātsaryaprabhrtayo dhahpāta-  
karā doṣāḥ. te sarve nīvyāsaktyadhināḥ. s̥ nīvi cet tyaktā tadā te  
sarve gatā bhavanti. tadā vitarāgasyāsanna eva mokṣaḥ. tasmāt  
suṣṭhūktam—

nīvimokṣo hi mokṣaḥ nīvisparśaparityāga eva  
mokṣaḥ—iti.

The above quotation shows that there were some Mohammadan rulers in India at that time who were great patrons of Sanskrit learning, in whose court Sanskrit scholars had a ready welcome and met with great honour.

In the other work of the author available, namely, the *Kaṇḍavalamśa* or *Duṣṭadamana*, there are three more works of his mentioned. The first reference is in the passage :

nocet tūṇam pradātavyam bhuktam yad vasu  
rājakam

tatottaram aham vacmi śrūyatām budhasattamāḥ  
matkṛte 'dvaitasārākhye granthe samyak samādhitā.

I take it that the work is Advaitasāra and not Dvaitasāra. There is no way of determining the point at present.

117. p. 10.

119. p. 13.

118. bhavanti tu ity ākṣepaḥ.

Another reference is contained in :

ata evoktam guṇajīvanaṭīkāyāṃ mayiva  
and  
etatsamādhānam asmatkṛtaguṇajīvanaṭīkāyāḥ spaṣṭam avagantav-  
yam.

The third reference is :

te sarve 'smatkṛtāhnikasāroddhāre caturthasargaṭīkāyāṃ ca dra-  
ṣṭavyāḥ.

Elsewhere there is a reference to the munificence of Dara Shukhoh and the passage is :

dārāsāhadhanam tāsū sthāpitam tatra budhitaḥ.

Thus it is found that the author is a versatile scholar, rather diffuse in his treatment of the subject matter. He quotes from a large number of works and the particular work under notice is a rare specimen of literary criticism in Sanskrit Literature.

## MISCELLANY

### SIVĀJI THE GREAT'S ORDER TO THE REVENUE OFFICERS AT JUNNAR

Sivāji the Great captured the fort of Sirihagaḍi in 1647-8 and so to say commenced the career of conquest. Śahāji, his father was imprisoned for a time and though released later on was kept under surveillance by the King of Bijāpur till the great rebellion in the Carnatic about 1652 called forth the energies of a strong and experienced general. It appears that by this time Śahāji entrusted his Jahāgir to his son Sivāji and his mother Jijābāi.

On page 113 of *Sanads and letters from the Poona Daftar*, edited by the late Mr. Purshottam Vishram MAVJI and Rao Bahadur D. B. PARASNIS is published a letter addressed or alleged to be addressed by Sivāji the Great to Siddheśvar Bhat bin Meghanāth Bhat Brahme of Chākan, whose descendants at present reside in Poona and at Khed in the Poona District.

In that letter Sivāji asserts that owing to the power of Siddheśvar Bhat's religious austerities (Anuṣṭhāna), he became a ruler and got all he desired; he is convinced of this fact. Knowing that he was of great assistance when he (Sivāji) was in difficulties, he gave an annuity of one hundred hons of the emperor's type (Pātsāhi hon śambhari) to Siddheśvar. The authenticity of this letter was often called in question by researchers like Mr. D. V. APTE, B.A., as the language of it is modernized, the legends on the seals are not copied and the name of the Treasury from which the annuity was to be paid was not mentioned.

Fortunately in 1929, when I was the Sub-Registrar of Khed in the Poona District, in which the village of Chākan is also included, Mr. Bhausaheb Brahme, the descendant of Siddheśvar, the grantee, handed over to me the original order of Sivāji, addressed to the Revenue Officers at Junnar, dated the 1st day of Ramjān Suhur San Arbā Khamasain Alaf, (1054) equivalent to 17th July 1653 according to the calculations of the late Mr. G. H. Khare and 16th July 1653 as calculated by D. B. Swami Kannu Pillai—the same date on which Sivāji is said to have addressed the letter to Siddheśvar Bhat.

This order to the Revenue officers at Junnar to pay the annuity from the Treasury there is edited by me in full in the *Sarṇsodhak* of Dhulia, Vol. XI, No. III at pages 21 to 23 with a good facsimile, the expense of which is borne by the Rajwade Sarṇsodhak Maṇḍal of Dhulia. It is now available to all researchers. It bears the seals of Sivāji and his Prime Minister Sāmraj. The officers have been ordered to pay the annuity of one hundred hons of the Emperor's type (Pātsāhi hon śambhari) of Sivāji's preceptor (Upādhyāya) first of all from the Junnar Treasury and to take his receipt.

Sivāji the Great sums up as follows :—

1. Siddheśvar Bhat bin Meghanāth Bhat Brahme has been a dependant (of the Bhoasles) for generations together (pūrvāpāra).
2. He is a very great man given to religious bathing, practising sandhyā, doing duties and practising religious austerities (anuṣṭhāna).
3. His religious austerities were a tower of strength to his kingdom.
4. Owing to these he got all he desired.

\* Sivāpūnkar Sakāvali, p. 55 of *Sivacaritrāpradīpa*.



5. Siddheśvar's agency would be useful when he would have to face difficulties.

Śivāji takes the oath of his tutelary deity, of his ancestors, cows and Brāhmanas in case one (who would come after him) would discontinue the annuity.

The language, the seals, the date and the proper custody (of the descendants of Siddheśvar Brhame) all testify beyond the shadow of a doubt to the genuineness of the order, which was seen in original by Rao Bahadur SARDESAI, the late lamented Dr. SARDESAI, Prof. POTDAR and others.

Owing to blunders occurring in the copy of the letter published in the Sanads and Letters from the Peshwa records, researchers like Mr. D. V. APTE entertained doubts as regards the interpretation of words in it. But now on seeing the seals on the order and the facsimile, we cannot hesitate to interpret the words in it. The Epigraph and the language of it again are convincing.

The words would indicate that the territory of Śahāji's Jahāgir round about Poona and Junnar and the small kingdom carved out by his son were allotted to Śivāji and Jijābāi independently for administration by Śahāji before he started on his expedition in the Carnatic.

This is certainly a landmark in Śivāji's life, the territory being considered as his independent (though small) kingdom.

To judge from the wording of this order, the argument that Śivāji had no faith in religion or in religious austerities but only feigned to have faith in them or tried to impose upon his subjects or to cajole them would seem to fall to the ground.

Y. R. GUPTA.

## NOTES OF THE MONTH

The Progress Report of the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, for the year ending October 1942 shows the rapid progress this institution has been making in spite of the difficulties consequent upon the present world war. On 5th October, 1941 the Bhavan was transferred to its new buildings at Nav Gujarat, Andheri. The research journal of the Bhavan called the *Bhāratīya Vidyā* has completed 3 Volumes containing research papers, which reveal a uniformly high standard of scholarship. The Bhavan has recently started the publication of a new monthly Hindi Bulletin called the *Bhāratīya Vidyā Patrikā* which deals with various aspects of Indian culture and literary news. This *Patrikā* edited by Shri K. M. MUNSHI, the learned President of the Bhavan will before long make a considerable addition to the popularity and prestige of the Bhavan. For a commercial city like Bombay the value of mental elevation should be very great as "things of the mind are not of the clay" and the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan with its headquarters at Bombay will carry its message of mental elevation to the commercially minded people by its ceaseless activities in this direction. Among these activities mention must be made of the following series :—(1) *Bhāratīya Vidyā Series* (5 volumes in the press), (2) *Bhāratīya Vidyā Studies* (4 volumes in the press), (3) *Singhī Jān Granthamālā* (13 volumes already published) and (4) *Gujarātī Sāhitya Parishad Publications*. In addition to these activities the Bhavan's Extension Lectures and Talks and the successful conduct of the Mumbādevī Sanskrit Pathashala and the Jyotish Shikshāpith has been responsible for the spread of the message of the Bhāratīya Vidyā to all classes of people in Bombay, who care to have some regard for their ancient Indian heritage and culture.

## DR. N. G. SARDESAI

Students and teachers of Indology in this country and outside will deeply mourn the sad demise, on 22nd January 1943, of Dr. Narhar Gopal SARDESAI, the enterprising proprietor of the famous Oriental Book Agency of Poona. Born on 17th August 1873, Dr. SARDESAI started his career as a private medical practitioner at Yeotmal in 1903, served as a medical officer at Penang (Straits Settlement) and in the Ichalkaranji State (S. M. C.) between 1908 and 1912, and finally settled at Poona in 1913. Though a physician by profession, Dr. SARDESAI was attracted towards Sanskrit studies even from very early days, and his close association with Sanskrit scholars like Professors Belvalkar, Ranade, and Gune ultimately resulted in his decision to devote his life to the cause of the promotion of Oriental research. He co-operated with those scholars whole-heartedly in founding the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Dr. SARDESAI was connected with that Institute in several capacities--as a Treasurer (1915-1921), a member of the Working Committee (1915-1918), a member of the Executive Board (1918-1921), and a member of the Regulating Council for several years.

But by far his greatest service was the establishment of the Oriental Book Agency through which he arranged to supply to Oriental scholars in any part of the world any books dealing with Sanskrit and allied subjects and thus greatly facilitated their research-work. He had developed contacts with renowned Oriental publishers and booksellers in Europe and America, and thus helped Indian scholars to keep in touch with the work being done in those countries. The bibliography of books connected with Oriental research, which he has published, is a sure index of the intelligent interest which he took in this business.

Dr. SARDESAI promoted the cause of Oriental studies in another way also. His friendship with scholars made him realise the various difficulties which authors usually experience in the matter of getting their works published. He therefore started the "Poona Oriental Series" in which no less than 82 volumes have so far been published. He also published the R. G. Bhandarkar, Ganganath Jha and P. V. Kane Commemoration Volumes. Seven years ago he started the "Poona Orientalist", which too has proved a useful addition to journals devoted to Oriental research in this country.

Amidst all these multifarious activities Dr. SARDESAI found time to write occasionally, for journals, articles on subjects of his special interest, to edit a Sanskrit text or two and to undertake journeys to places like Java and Sumatra, Kailāsa and Mānasa lake.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to know that Dr. R. N. SARDESAI has decided to carry on unhampered the several activities started by his late lamented father for the promotion of Oriental learning.

—R. N. D.

## TURKISH ATTACKS ON HINDUSTHAN IN THE 12TH AND 13TH CENTURIES

By

A. B. M. HAEIBULLAH, Calcutta.

The victory of Muhammad b. Sam over Prithviraja Chauhan in the plains of Tarain in 1190 was a great event in Indian history. The route to Hindusthan now lay open, and within ten years the Turks spread over the entire Gangetic valley and established what may be described in modern military jargon as 'pockets'. These pockets were gradually expanded into military strongholds and eventually into provinces. So long as the bottleneck formed by the Aravalli and Siwalikh ranges was guarded by the Chauhans, access to the Valley was denied to the Turks. No other practicable route existed. To force this passage was therefore more a military and strategic than political necessity.

Muhammad b. Sam's victory, however, was not, as is generally supposed, an isolated personal triumph, nor was it an accident. It was on the one hand, the execution of a deliberate military plan by a resolute conqueror, and on the other, the fulfilment of a process which extended over the whole of the 12th century. His was only the most successful of the many attempts made by the Turks from the North-west to get a foothold in Hindusthan, and which therefore may be regarded as preliminaries to Tarain. The Shansabani conqueror thus, perhaps unwittingly, brought to a successful end a century of reconnoitring activity, a programme of military action of which he was not the originator. At the beginning he does not appear to have grasped the soundness, from the military point of view, of the plan pursued by his predecessors. Not having as yet had any direct contact with India, he had attempted, early in his career, to force his way through Rajputana, and it was his disastrous defeat in the hands of the Chalukya king, Bhima II of Gujrat, near Mt. Abu, in 1174, that set him thinking seriously of the North-Western entrance. This final realization explains his determined and gradual advance through the Punjab at the expense of the Gaznawides. Peshawar was captured in 1179, Sialkot fell in 1185, and Lahore, after three expeditions, was finally occupied in 1186. Three years later, in 1189, he began his operations against India proper.

Turkish attempts to penetrate into Hindusthan can be traced as far back as the reign of Mas'ud, the Gaznawide. Mahmud's brilliant campaigns had shown the way and the governors of the Punjab, although living under the fast declining empire, kept up their pressure on the Rajput states of the Gangetic valley. According to Baihaqui,<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Niyaltigin, Mas'ud's gover-

nor of the Punjab, in the course of his expedition, penetrated into the Valley as far as Benares. The same authority also credits Mas'ud with the capture of Hansi.<sup>2</sup> Ibrahim is also said to have conducted expeditions against the "infidels".<sup>3</sup> The cumulative effect of these raids directed towards the plains of Hindusthan could not have been great at the end of the 11th century. But the seriousness of the Turkish menace was realised by the Rajput kings. This is clear from the mention of the tax called "Turushka danda" (probably collected either to pay off the Turks or to meet the increased cost of fighting them) in a grant of the Gahadavala ruler, Govinda Chandra.<sup>4</sup> The language of the grant suggests that the tax was familiar to the people and therefore of long standing. The attacks increased in frequency and extent in the following century. A grant of the Gahadavala ruler, Madanapala, dated v.s. 1166 (1109) refers to his father Govinda Chandra as having "compelled the Hammira to lay aside his enmity by his matchless fighting".<sup>5</sup> In an inscription of the feudatory Rashtrakuta prince, Lakhnapal of Budaon, his great grandfather Madanapala is mentioned "in consequence of whose distinguished prowess there never was any talk of the Hammira coming to the bank of the river of the Gods".<sup>6</sup> The queen of Govinda Chandra extols her husband<sup>7</sup> as one "who had been commissioned by Hara (God) in order to protect Baranasi from the wicked Turushka warrior as the only one who was able to protect the earth". The reference to Baranasi (Benares) is probably an indication of the extent to which the Turks carried their arms. It is not unlikely that this conflict was connected with the expedition of Hajib Tughatigin, the governor of the Punjab under Masud III (1098-1115) who is reported to have penetrated to a place across the Ganges where no one except Mahmud had penetrated before.<sup>8</sup> Vijayachandra (1155-1170) also claimed to have "swept away the affliction of the globe by streams of water flowing from the eyes of the wives of the Hammira, the abode of wanton destruction to the earth".<sup>9</sup> The last Gahadavala ruler, Jayachandra, is also credited in some later Sanskrit works with having overcome the "king of Ghor".<sup>10</sup> This probably refers to some preliminary inroad of the Shans-

2. *Ibid.*, p. 665; the *Tab. Nas.* p. 14, states that he led armies into Hindustan on several occasions. This probably refers not only to his capturing Hansi but also to his penetrating further east. RAVERTY—Trans. *Tab. Nas.* p. 93, note, states (without citing his authority) that near Zafarabad, in Jaunpur, Firoz Tughluq witnessed ruins of temples said to have been destroyed by Masud.

3. RAVERTY, *op. cit.* p. 105, note 4.

4. *Ind. Ant.* XIV, p. 113.

5. *Ibid.*, 1889, pp. 14-19.

6. *Epi. Ind.* I, p. 62; it is undated, but on paleographic grounds has been assigned to the end of the XII century. On the contemporaneity of Madanapala with Govindachandra, see RAY—*Dynastic History* I, pp. 504-5, 554; cf. RAMKARAN, *Ashutosh Silver Jubilee Volumes*, III, p. 260.

7. *Epi. Ind.* IX, pp. 234-37.

8. *Tab. Nas.*, p. 22. It is also referred to in some detail in the *Diwan* of Masud-i-Sad b. Salman, a contemporary poet of Masud III; ELLIOTT IV, p. 526-7.

9. *Ind. Ant.* XV, p. 9.

10. Vidyapati, *Purushapariksha*, Eng. Trans. by NERURKAR, pp. 146-7. In a

banis before the final engagement.

Into Rajputana, likewise, both from the north and the west, the Turks carried their arms. In an inscription of the Chauhan ruler, Chachiga Deva of Nadol, dated 1319/1262 A.D. reference is made to the defeat and destruction of the Turushkas by Anahilla Deva, a contemporary of Bhima I of Gujarat.<sup>11</sup> His son Kalhana, the dates of whose inscriptions range from v.s. 1218/1161 to 1236/1179, also destroyed a Turushka army.<sup>12</sup> It was perhaps one of these expeditions which resulted in the capture of Nagaur (in Marwar State) by Bahlim, governor of the Punjab under Bahram, as recorded by the author of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*.<sup>13</sup> After his conquest of Sind the Ghoride king intensified his pressure on western Rajputana, in order, as has been suggested above, to force a passage into Hindusthan. A mutilated inscription at Kihadu near Mt. Abu, dated v.s. 1235/1178 A.D. records the repair of an idol temple broken by a Turushka army.<sup>14</sup>

The most vigorous pressure, however, was bound to be felt by the Chauhanas who guarded the entrance. Durlava II of Sambhar is said to have lost his life in fighting the Turks. Ajayadeva, the founder of Ajmer, is credited with having defeated the Muslim intruders.<sup>15</sup> During the reign of his son Amoraja the Turks destroyed Pushkar and reached as far as Anasagar where they were signally defeated. In the following reign, that of his son Vigraharaja IV, the Turks advanced on Balbera<sup>16</sup> (modern Rupnagar, Kishangarh state). The famous Delhi pillar inscription of Vigraharaja IV dated v.s. 1220/1163 A.D. records his conquest of the land between the Vindhya and the Himalayas, his extermination of the Mlecchas and to his restoration of the land to the Aryas.<sup>17</sup> He exhorts his descendants to carry on the campaign against the unclean invaders. A more definite evidence of the threatening advance of the Turks is furnished by an inscription of Prithviraja I who records the fortification of the frontier town of Hansi to check the progress of the "Hammira who has become the cause of anxiety to the world".<sup>18</sup> The inscription also mentions the conquest of "Panchapur", probably the same as Pachapattan (Pakpattan) on the Sutlej. If this is so, then the mention of Hansi along with Pakpattan indicates the tract through which these invasions occurred, and points to a policy of occupying the important towns on this route with a view to close it

Sanskrit drama named *Rambhā Mañjarī*, he is called the "destroyer of all the Javanas".

11. *Epi. Ind.* IX, pp. 62-63; OJHA, *Rajputane ka Itihas*, I, p. 269.

12. *Epi. Ind.* XI, pp. 46-51.

13. P. 24.

14. *Epi. Ind.* XI, p. 72.

15. OJHA, *op. cit.* I, p. 268.

16. *Ind. Ant.* XX, p. 202; SARDA, *Ajmer*, p. 79.

17. *Ind. Ant.* 1890, pp. 215-17.

18. *Ind. Ant.* XLI, pp. 17-18. THOMAS: *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 59, noticed a coin of one Kilhana with the Arabic legend of *Sina* (light) on the obverse, which, according to him, is found only on the coins of Masud III. If his reading is correct then we must suppose that Kilhana was originally Masud's feudatory who later rebelled and fortified the route from Pakpattan.

effectively. No epigraphic records exist to show the extent to which this policy was carried out, but we know that a few years later, Bhatinda,<sup>19</sup> situated about a hundred miles north of Hansi, had become a Chauhana frontier town when Muhammad b. Sam captured it in 1191.<sup>20</sup> Almost immediately the Chauhans under Prithviraja came up and recovered the fortress and Muhammad suffered his first defeat in Tarain.

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19. The word is written in the Muslim chronicles and read by RAVERTY as Tabarhindah. No such place ever existed. No one acquainted with the hurried style of writing of the Persian copyists can fail to see that transposition of a few dots and a careless joining of letters are all that is required for making Bhatinda read Tabarhinda or even Sarhind.

20. *Tab. Nas.*, pp. 118-19.

# RACE AND IMMUNITY IN INDIA

Bv

D. D. KOSAMBI, Poona.

In June 1939, a high official of the German army named LAMOTTE wrote two letters inquiring about the remarkable health reported to be prevalent among the Hunzas. A local anthropologist having been "unable to give any information regarding these", the letters were sent to me for an answer. Relevant portions of the original letters, and my answer of July 11, 1939 are reproduced here in the hope that others may be able to contribute to the subject.

June 12, 1939

Der frühere Generalarzt der indischen Armee Mr. CAZ. SON berichtet von einem Volksstamm der Hunza's im Nordwestzipfel von Indien am Karakorum, dass diese das gesündeste Volk der Welt sei, selbst der sonst tödlich verlaufende Milzbrand verursache bei den Hunzas nur eine leichte Rötung der Haut. Ein anderer Engländer Lorimer hat festgestellt, dass bei den Hunzas, die von allen Fremd-Einflüssen freigeblichen wären, das Burschaki gesprochen wird, es soll die nord-indische Ursprache sein, die gesprochen wurde, bevor die Sanskrit sprechenden nördlichen Völker nach Indien einfielen.

Mich interessiert nun vor allem folgendes: Wenn die von Norden einfallenden Völker, nicht zu den Hunzas gekommen sind und diese im Gegensatz zu den anderen Indern sich 100% Gesundheit erfreuen, dann müssen mithin die einfallenden nördlichen Völker einen unheilvollen Einfluss auf die indische Urbevölkerung ausgeübt haben und damit würde die so gerne bei uns vertretene Ansicht falsch sein, dass die von Norden gekommenen Eroberer erst Indien zur Blüte gebracht haben. Man könnte dies vergleichen mit dem schlechtem Einfluss der Zivilisation des weissen Menschen auf andere Völker. Ueberall wo der weisse Mensch hingekommen ist, ist die ortseingesessene Bevölkerung krank und unglücklich geworden, und der weisse Mensch bringt sich ja auch selbst langsam aber sicher um.

Ich wäre Ihnen nun sehr dankbar, wenn Sie gelegentlich eines Schreibens an Ihren früheren Chef diese Punkte berühren würden und ihm um seine Auffassung über die Hunzas fragen würden. Sind sie wirklich so gesund, dann verlohnt es sich doch auch so zu leben wie sie, denn kein Reichtum ist grösser als Gesundheit.

LAMOTTE.

June 20, 1939.

Meinen an Frl. FRUNDT gerichteten Brief vom 12. 6. 39, der Ihnen ja zugeht, kann ich noch ergänzen. McCARRISON schreibt über die Hunzas: "Die einzige Nahrung dieses Volkes besteht bis heute aus Getreidekörnern, Gemüse und Obst, mit einer gewissen Menge von Milch und Butter, und Ziegenfleisch nur an festlichen Tagen. Die Nahrungsmenge ist so knapp, dass sie in der Regel keine Hunde halten können. Ausser den Körnerfrüchten—Weizen, Gerste und Mais—reifen reichliche Ernten von Aprikosen. Diese dörren sie in der Sonne und verwenden sie ausgiebig in der Ernährung. Die Lebensdauer ist bei diesen Leuten ausserordentlich lang. Wenn man die Strenge des Winters in diesem Teil des Himalaja in Betracht zieht, wie auch dass ihre Haus und Schutzeinrichtungen überaus primitiv sind, so erscheint in Evidenz, dass die notgedrungene Beschränkung auf unverfälschte Nahrung sich mit langer Lebensdauer mit ausdauernder Lebenskraft und vollkommener Körper ver trägt.



Wenn man nun demgegenüber den Gesundheitszustand in Europa und Nordamerika betrachtet, so muss man leider sagen, dass er nicht gut ist. Wenn dem nicht so wäre, dann würden nicht überall Krankenhäuser, Sanatorien, Pflege und Erholungsheime und dergleichen wie Pilze aus der Erde schiessen und nichttägliche neue Medicamente und angebliche Heilmittel auf den Markt geworfen werden. Durch alle diese Sachen wird aber nicht der Kernpunkt berührt, nämlich die Lebensführung des einzelnen Menschen und zwar in geistiger, körperlicher und seelischer Hinsicht.

Was das rein Körperliche angeht, so liegt der Hauptschaden wohl darin, dass die Nahrungsmittel denaturiert, chemisiert und sonst verfälscht sind und Leben kann schliesslich nur von lebender Nahrung kommen, die wie bei den Hunzas unverfälscht genossen wird.

Wir haben nun in verschiedenen Ländern Reformbestrebungen, die auf eine naturgemässe Lebensweise hinzielen und es sind auch schon einige Ergebnisse zu verzeichnen insofern, dass ein kleiner Kreis von Menschen zur Erkenntniss gekommen ist, dass unser Leben falsch ist, und sich nun bemüht, durch vernünftiges Leben gesund zu werden. Was nützt alles Aüsserliche, wenn der Mensch nicht 100% gesund ist und sein Leben vollenden kann. Wir haben hierfür zwei gute Sätze: Kein Reichtum o Mensch ist grösser als Gesundheit und Was nützt Dir der Erde Geld, kein kranker Mensch geniesst die Welt.

Gibt es nun auch in Indien ähnliche Reformbestrebungen und regt das Beispiel der Hunzas auch andere Volkstämme zur Nacheiferung an. Ist der Gesundheitszustand in Indien wohl besser als in Europa. An und für sich müsste dies der Fall sein, da durch das bevorzugte Klima sich die Bevölkerung doch leicht richtig ernähren und leben kann.

Meine Fragen rühren daher, weil es für uns sehr schwer ist, sich ein richtiges Bild vom heutigen Indien zu machen da wir im allgemeinen Indien nur durch die englische Brille zu sehen bekommen und andere Europäer, selbst solche die jahrelang in Indien gelebt haben, nur die Oberfläche Indiens berührt haben und nicht viel mehr als ihren Klub kennen. Um so erfreulicher war es für uns, durch Frl. Frundt etwas näheres zu hören und zu sehen, mit welcher Liebe sie versucht hat Indien kennen zu lernen. Ueber die Vergangenheit Indiens können wir uns schon unterrichten, da wir gute Uebersetzungen der Bhagavad-Gita der Veden u. s. w. haben.

LAMOTTE.

In the first place, I can furnish no additional information about the Hunzas. The region is isolated, and the nearest friends I could locate could, at the most, reach some portions of Ladakh. I do not know any anthropologist who has made a particular study of the health statistics of the tribe. My own information, therefore, would also come from such reports as that of MACCARRISON, and LORIMER'S book [*Language Hunting on the Karakorum*]. However, even admitting the absence of vital statistics, such as infant mortality, and with the agreement that the tribe in question is exceptionally healthy, I believe that my comments upon Herr LAMOTTE'S letter might be of some use.

Firstly, the Hunzas might possess a pre-Aryan language, but this says nothing about their race. Let me point out the Brahui-speaking people in Afghanistan, surrounded by Aryan linguistic groups. Brahui is undoubtedly Dravidian, but the people have physically nothing in common with the Dravidians of South India. The latest analyses claim to have proved what was an old contention: that the Gond language (and perhaps those of some of our other primitive tribes) belongs to the Finno-Ugrian group. But it would be laughable to think of those dark, slim and physically underdeveloped savages as of the same stock as the Finns and the Basques. To take an instance outside of India, the American Red Indians are considered as belonging to a Mongoloid stock, and even the language is definitely

Mongoloid in origin, in so far as spoken words can be grouped [a considerable proportion of the words are usually replaced by signs of the hand in actual talk]. But there is still an essential difference in the racial stock, because the Hirszfeld blood tests show that the pure Amerind stock lacks all blood genes except *O*, whereas the "Mongols" including Chinese have a remarkably high and characteristic concentration of the gene *B*. So, I conclude that the Aryan invasion can hardly have anything to do with the incidence of disease in the West, or the health of such out-of-the-way people as the Hunzas.

The second point is the diet. You are surely aware that most of us in India do not drink alcoholic liquors, have few habitual drugs of any sort to aid us, and are vegetarians. I assure you from my experience during the period that I spent doing health work in the villages, that the vast majority of our Indian peasants have even less to eat than the Hunzas do. But they are decidedly less healthy. This, of course, has a great deal to do with the climate also. In our part of the country malaria is endemic, and there are other diseases such as the bubonic plague, cholera, typhoid, which each of us has seen at close range but which can be studied in countries like Germany only as laboratory phenomena. Most of these, of course, could hardly exist in a cold climate and at high altitude, in a thinly populated country. To this extent, Herr Lamotte's conclusion is valid, that a civilized mode of life is less healthy than that of the Hunzas. But this is often due to the exploitation, hard work, poor diet, accommodation and mental strain, that a great portion of the working class population has to undergo in every civilized country that I have seen.

The next point would be more remarkable: why are the Hunzas more healthy than those who live in similar surroundings in other parts of the world: the Alps, or Tibet, or the Andes? This, again, I take as an assumption, because I don't believe that the necessary statistical data of a really thorough and reliable character are to be had. But on the basis of that assumption, my explanation would be somewhat different, in all probability, from that of Herr Lamotte. I would take climate and diet into consideration but stress selection, heredity, and isolation. By heredity, I do not mean descent from Aryans and non-Aryans. For all I know, the Hunzas of today might be racially entirely distinct from the people that lived there a thousand years ago. In Goa, in my own village, I can assure you that the region which is now teeming with people [population over 100 per sq. kilometer] had hardly anyone living in it a hundred years ago, malaria and some unknown epidemic having killed and driven off all the inhabitants. In such a place it would be difficult to determine who is descended from whom over a range of centuries. In the Karakorum, a similar situation will probably not prevail, but, in my opinion, the rigorous climate will automatically act as a Darwinian selective agency, and kill off all the unfit at some time.

By heredity, then, I mean that the living members of the tribe as constituted at present must be all descended by inbreeding from very few ancestors, and must have inherited an exceptionally favourable germ-plasm and a high survival-value factor. The absence of contact with the outside world helps here, in that no bad hereditary traits would be imported. The inbreeding would develop recessive lethal genes to the utmost, killing off by cooperation of the environment all the least fit.

The isolation factor acts in a slightly different way. No major epidemic can have been imported because of this. The populations to compare with our tribe in question would be those of, say, Tristão da Cunha, or Spitsbergen. In the latter case at least, you will find that the people are quite healthy till a ship calls. Then, the entire population suffers from colds, from which they are immune for the rest of the time. *Now isolation itself would not have a favourable effect unless the total population isolated were small.* This we find also in the two other places mentioned. For this, you can receive a theoretical grounding from the bio-mathematical studies

of VOLTERRA [*Leçons sur la Lutte pour la Vie*], LOTKA and others. If a disease of a chronic character enters a small isolated population, the result would be that the whole lot would more or less take it, and all eventually recover from it or those not immune would be wiped out. A succession of such attacks would either kill off the whole population, or leave only those immune. This, I take it, is what has happened in that remote corner of the Karakorum. For a larger population, the facts are not so simple. The disease will rarely run its full course over the whole population at once. It will exterminate, or be driven off from, a small section at the most. As a result there is usually a perpetual cyclic course, during which there is some portion of the population always acting as a carrier for the epidemic. This cannot happen for a small community like the three hundred people of Tristão da Cunha island. Please understand that population is a technical term where disease is concerned, and includes all carriers. For example, the bubonic plague "population" would include all rats as well as all human beings capable of being infected, along with the intermediate carrier, the fleas. In the Himalayas we know that intermediate parasitic carriers are rare. In many places, the water supply is of an exceptional purity, and for the tribe in question, there may even be some favourable mineral content.

Hunza isolation, however, was not absolute, as is seen from the records of Chinese and other conquests, of penetration by Buddhist and Mohammedan missionaries, and traders. The harsh climate, therefore, operated jointly with a mild but comparatively steady exposure to infection. Both of these selective agencies were lacking in the South Sea islands, which had only isolation and a healthy natural diet; the result was a beautiful and vigorous race that perished at its first contact with the diseases and vices of the white man.

Civilization by itself need not be a hindrance. Civilized communities, if based upon the ideal of service rather than of profit, command all the chemical, mechanical, and scientific means for producing a healthier population on a larger scale than that of the Hunzas. Many countries possess, even at present, the necessary means for producing enough sustenance for all members of their population; to produce the necessary comfortable living conditions. Perhaps geneticists could select, by proper scientific tests, people of such inheritable physical qualities as to breed a race better than the Hunzas. But, all these countries are, if anything, going the wrong way. The general index of consumers' production and means of livelihood available for the average citizen are usually going down, most of the spare national energy being absorbed by armaments.

The cultural factor is probably not hereditary. I do not know of any important contribution to civilization, as such, made either by the Hunzas or any other long lived race.

As for reforms in the country improving the condition of the people, the outlook is decidedly poor. Our politicians have tried to enforce prohibition, but mostly of the country wine that has a high vitamin B content; the sole amelioration here is due to economic and not to dietetic factors. Salt, a necessity of life in our hot climate is still heavily taxed. MCCARRISON was occupied with experiments on diet, which might explain his views on immunity among the Hunzas. But his successor in the institute at Coonoor, finding that handpolished rice had a higher vitamin content than that husked by machine, could only recommend that the rice polishing mills be forbidden for the good of the population. That the population hadn't enough to eat, and that the time saved from the labour of dealing with the cereal by hand might enable them to earn a little more never struck him. There isn't the slightest doubt that the general Indian diet is deficient in vitamins, but for the average Indian, the most serious deficiency is that of bulk and nourishment as such.

The hospitals, sanatoria etc. that Herr LAMOTTE regrets in Europe are a rare phenomenon in India, being at best a middle class service. But unless one is cold-blooded enough to take death and illness as just curious aspects of life and health, the result of the lack of medical facilities cannot be called happy. In one matter and only in one can we be said to have gained something, and that is the ability to survive under the most wretched conditions. Undoubtedly, this ability is also shared by the poor Chinese coolies. Examples are easy to produce. The state of Florida in the U.S.A. had all its cattle wiped out by cattle tick fever, and the ticks persisted even when all the game was shot off in a desperate attempt to eliminate the parasites. The solution was the import of ordinary Indian cattle [called Brahma or Brahmin cattle in the U.S.A.] which thrived under conditions that did not permit any other cattle to survive. There was a pea blight in the Midwest of the U.S.A. which affected all peas except some very miserable shrivelled Indian specimens. With interbreeding, the seed dealers were able to cross the disease resistant qualities of Indian peas with the superior meat content of other varieties, producing satisfactory seeds within half a dozen pea generations. Both of these cases have occurred within the last ten years. At Benares and other holy places we still have the ancient custom of dedicating an ordinary bull calf to Siva; the calf is branded, and released to wander where it will, to eat in any field without punishment. The result is invariably a superb breed bull, one which would take a prize at an ordinary cattle show. On the other hand, attempts to improve Indian stock by importing cattle from other countries have failed. The conclusion is that under Indian conditions, the plants, the animals, and presumably even the human beings, are doing as well as possible. The only way of improving their physical characteristics is, therefore, to improve the conditions. So far as I can see, there is no chance of any such permanent improvement, without socializing the means of production.

## SOME PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH RAVIVARMAN KULASĒKHARA

By

K. KANAKASABHAPATHY PILLAI, Madras

Ravivarman Kulasēkhara, alias Sangrāmadhira (firm in battle) was a great medieval ruler in Travancore. He carried his victorious arms far into the regions of the neighbouring kingdoms. Though the contemporary epigraphic sources of information about the king and his exploits are considerable, yet several problems connected with him remain still uncertain.

First regarding his parents. That his father was Jayasimha who was ruling in the Kerala country and who belonged to the Yādu race is mentioned in Ravivarman's inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> Whence does this Yādu or Yādava line spring up at this stage? For some centuries prior to this period i.e. the 13th century A.D. when Jayasimha flourished, we do not hear of any ruler of the Yādava line in the region of Travancore. Ravivarman insistently refers in his inscriptions<sup>2</sup> with pride to his Yādu origin; and the court Poet who has sung his praise has described him as Yādunandana, Yūdubhūpathi, Yāduvamsa-Vibhūshaṇa etc.

The only other set of rulers in early Travancore, who belonged to the Yādava stock were the Āyī Kings. Most unmistakably the available inscriptions of those kings assert that they were Yādavas.<sup>3</sup> The last known ruler of the Āyī line of kings is Vikramāditya Varaguna whose period of rule is reckoned to have been in the 9th Century A.D. Mr. V. R. Ramachandra DIKSHITAR ventures to suggest that the dynasty died out soon after the demise of Vikramāditya Varaguna.<sup>4</sup> But he adduces no specific grounds for his suggestion.

It is not, I believe, far fetched to trace a connection between the earlier and later members of the Yādava line. That the Āyī Kings like Kō-kkaruṇanda-ḍakkan and Vikramāditya Varaguna were ruling over South Travancore is evident from the Huzur Office Plates. As indicated by Mr. Gopinatha RAO<sup>5</sup> these kings belonging to the line of Āy-Vēl were the early rulers of Vēnād and the name Vēnād itself must have been derived from them (Vēl + nād and not Ven + nād as Mr. VENKAYYA surmised). And Mr. RAO distinctly states that the family of the rulers of Vēnād branched off into the Jayatunganādu, Tiruppāpūr and other divisions. Here we see verily the connection between the early Āyī kings and Jayasimha because Jayatunganādu or Jayasimhanādu was socalled only after Jayasimha. Jayasimha must have been a scion of the Āyī family<sup>6</sup> which was reduced to the position of vassalage after the Cōla conquest of Venad and must have by his own prowess conquered Kōlamba and the adjoining regions where he established his rule.

What then do we know of Umādēvi the mother of Ravivarman? Mr. Nagam

1. *Epigraphica Indica* Vol. IV, p. 146.

2. See also *Travancore Archaeological Series* Vol. II, p. 59.

3. See *T. A. S.* Vol. I, p. 3 and *Ibid* p. 193.

4. *Proceedings of the Oriental Conference of 1937*, p. 708.

5. *T. A. S.* Vol. I, p. 188.

6. It must be remembered that the historicity of rulers like Kokkaruṇanda-ḍakkan and Varaguna was not known until the discovery of the Huzur Office Plates. Even out of the set of plates some are missing. Similarly perhaps records of the intervening kings might have been lost.

AIYA states that there was a queen of the Kūpaka family named Umā Dēvi ruling over Venad and that she was married by Jayasimha.<sup>7</sup> And this piece of information, he says, is derived from the inscription at the temple of Arulāperumal at Kanchi! A study of the inscription would convince any one that Mr. Nagam AIYA's deductions regarding the family of Umā Dēvi and her earlier rule over Venad are unwarranted. True, among the long string of birudas of Ravivarman found in his inscriptions, one describes him as the 'Kūpaka Universal Monarch'. That reference may mean either that he had inherited the Kūpakadesa from his father or that he might have added later to his patrimony Kōlamba, the outlying regions of Kūpakadesa by conquest.<sup>8</sup> Surely if Umā Dēvi was the queen of the Kūpaka family ruling earlier over Venad, these facts could have found a place in the inscription where he specifically refers to the race and family of his father.

While Mr. Nagam AIYA's conclusion is unconvincing, a recent view, suggested or implied by Mr. HODIVALA is still more so. There is a reference to one 'Maṇar Barmul the son of the daughter of Kales Dewar' rendering help to Vira Pandya against his rival Sundara Pandya in Wasef's *Tarjuman al Amshir*.<sup>9</sup> Mr. HODIVALA suggests<sup>10</sup> an identification of Wasef's Maṇar Barmul with Ravivarman, which would lead to the conclusion that Umā Dēvi was a daughter of Māravarman Kulasēkhara Pāndya (1268-1310 A.D.). Mr. HODIVALA's line of approach seems to be that 'Maṇar Barmul' stands for Māravarman and that Ravivarman was also known as Māravarman. None can dispute the fact that Ravivarman also had the typical Pāndyan surname Māravarman.<sup>11</sup>

In this connection the light thrown on the relationship between Ravivarman and Māravarman Kulasēkhara by *Lilāthilakam*<sup>12</sup> should be taken into consideration. There it is stated that Ravivarman after defeating Vikrama Pāndya who had invaded Vēnād, handed over the vanquished prince to his suzerain and married his daughter. This suzerain must have been none other than Māravarman Kulasēkhara (1268-1310 A.D.) who was the last of the great Pāndyas. And the Pāndya princess married by Ravivarman must have been the daughter of Kulasēkhara. The discrepancy between the conflicting accounts of *Lilāthilakam* and *Tarjīyut al Amshir* can be explained only in this way that the latter account contains a slip; instead of the son of the daughter of Kales Dewār, it should have been 'the husband of the daughter of Kales Dewār.'

The reasons for this conclusion can easily be indicated. Wasef was writing from hearsay and he was himself far away from South India. Again his main object was to give an account of the Mongol invasions of India.<sup>13</sup> Under such circumstances his account of persons and their relationship cannot be accepted as accurate.

What at best we can conclude about Umā Dēvi, in the present state of our knowledge is that she might have been connected with some royal family in Kerala

7. *State Manual* Vol. I, p. 258.

8. The Kūpakadesa was the country around Attingal which is only about 20 miles from Quilon. See *Indian Antiquary* Vol. VII, p. 275 and Vol. XXIV, p. 282.

The Kūpaka country itself came to be called Jayatunganādu after Jayasimha. There is lesser likelihood of its having been called so, if Jayasimha had ruled over it merely by virtue of his wife's claim over it.

9. ELLIOT and DOWSON Vol. III, p. 54.

10. *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* p. 245.

11. *T. A. S.* Vol. II, p. 59.

12. *Lilāthilakam* is a Malayalam Grammar in Sanskrit of the 14th or 15th century A.D. Many relevant references to the political events and personalities of mediæval Travancore are found there.

13. ELLIOT and DOWSON Vol. III, p. 25.

or more probably she had royal relationship only after she became the queen of Jayasimha.

### *Conquests of Ravivarman.*

There is no justification to belittle the exploits and achievements of Ravivarman. Mr. Gopinatha RAO described his victorious triumph as 'nothing more than a raid.'<sup>14</sup> Another Travancore archaeologist held that the title of Kulasekhara adopted by him was an indication of Ravivarman's subordinate position under Māravarman Kulasekhara.<sup>15</sup> This view is untenable. As SEWELL had shown,<sup>16</sup> the position of Māravarman Kulasekhara in the latter part of his reign was weak and it was difficult for him even to maintain his hold over the members of his family and subordinate rulers set up by him.

What were the territories that Ravivarman had inherited from his father? From the statement found in the Arulāperumal inscription that Ravivarman took possession of Kerala, which he ruled as he did his town of Kōlamba,<sup>17</sup> we can infer that Jayasimha must have been the ruler of Kōlamba and the surrounding region i.e. the Kūpakadesa. Mr. NGAM AIYA states that Jayasimha had conquered part of Nānjanad,<sup>18</sup> but he does not indicate the source of his information. That Jayasimha must have ruled over Vēnād is evidenced by the description of Ravivarman as a ruler of Vēnād while yet a boy, in *Lilāthilakam*.<sup>19</sup> Moreover an ancient Malayalam work called 'Uṇṇunilsāndeśam' describes Ravivarman as 'Vēṇādarakon.'<sup>20</sup>

Further from the facts that the land around Quilon came to be known as Jayatunganādu (a later corruption of Jayasimhanādu) and that Jayasimha styled himself as Vira Kerala, it can be inferred that he himself might have conquered some parts of Kerala to the north of Kōlamba.

The first important battle engaged in by Ravivarman must have been against Vikrama Pāndya. From a Cidambaram inscription Vikrama Pāndya is known to have been engaged in exploits in Vēnād. This is corroborated by records in Tinnevely and South Arcot of the 14th year of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya. It is further reinforced by the verse in *Lilāthilakam*. But the suggestion made by Dr. S. K. AIYANGAR<sup>21</sup> that Vikrama Pāndya was actually ruling over Venad is not borne out either by that verse or any of the other sources. As noted above, *Lilāthilakam* describes Ravivarman as the ruler of Vēnād at the time he defeated Vikrama Pāndya. It is reasonable to conclude that Ravivarman must have inherited Vēnād from his father. During his minority Vikrama Pāndya must have tried to secure possession of Vēnād and in this he was foiled by young Ravivarman.

According to the verse in *Lilāthilakam* the vanquished Vikrama Pāndya was handed over to the Pāndya Suzerain, who gave his daughter in marriage to

14. T. A. S. Vol. II, p. 57.

15. T. A. S. Vol. IV, p. 90. See also page 804 of the *Oriental Conference Proceedings* 1937, where Mr. A. S. M. RAMANUJACHARYA puts forward a conjecture that Ravivarman might have assumed the name Māravarman Kulasekhara after the Pāndyan king and on this basis assumes that he might have been the grandson of the Pāndya. This is baseless. It must be remembered that the name Kulasekhara need not be traced to the Pāndya ruler, because several earlier and subsequent Kings in Travancore have had that name.

16. *Historical Inscriptions of South India*, p. 158.

17. Kōlamba in Sanskrit, which means a boat, has been definitely identified with modern Quilon.

18. *State Manual* Vol. I, p. 261.

19. *Lilāthilakam* Silpam VIII, Sloka 183.

20. In the preface to an edition of the work, Mr. A. K. PISHAROTI says (p. 22-23) that Aditya Varman, a brother of Ravivarman was ruling over Vēnād presumably on behalf of Ravivarman.

21. *New Indian Antiquary* Vol. I, p. 157.

Ravivarman. That this Pāndya suzerain referred to, must have been none other than Māravarman Kulasekhara is beyond doubt, because he was the chief Pāndya ruler at the time.<sup>22</sup> On account of the ambiguity in the wording of the Arulā-laperumal inscription the Madras epigraphist held the view that Ravivarman married the Pāndya princess in his 33rd year. But the stanza in *Līlāhikānam* gives the lie direct to that view. It is unmistakably referred to in the verse that the victory over Vikrama Pāndya was won when Ravivarman was a boy (*Kṣhmāpāla bālā*). The irresistible inference is that the defeat of Vikrama Pāndya and the consequent marriage of the Pāndya princess must have taken place much earlier than in his 33rd year.<sup>23</sup>

After he had firmly seated himself on the throne, Ravivarman began his exploits in the east. It is now agreed that there were two Vira Pāndyas among the adversaries of Ravivarman. One was the ruler of Vēnād, who had assumed the name of Vira Pāndya,<sup>24</sup> the other was the 'Tir Pandi' of Wāssal or 'Bir Pandi' of Amir Khusrū,—the illegitimate son of Māravarman Kulasekhara. Of the two, who was the Vira Pāndya driven into the Konkana and thence into the forest? Some writers suggest that Udaya Mārthānda Varma alias Vira Pāndya the ruler of Venad was the Vira Pāndya subjugated and driven to Konkana.<sup>25</sup> I am inclined to think that this Vira Pāndya must have been the son of Māravarman Kulasekhara. From the Keralapuram inscription of Udayamārthāndavarman,<sup>26</sup> it is inferred that his accession to the throne of Venad must have been in 487 M.E. i.e. 1312-13 A.D. which was about the same time when Ravivarman crowned himself at Kanchi. The Arulā-laperumal inscription runs thus:—"Having celebrated his coronation festival when he had vanquished the Keralas, Pandyas and Cōlas, having driven that enemy Vira Pāndya, who after his defeat in battle had gone to Konkana, from there even, together with his large army, into the forests, and having conquered the northern region, King Sangrāmādhirā here at Kanchi wrote his fourth year." Unless the inscription was heedless about the sequence of events the natural conclusion is that the pursuit of the vanquished Vira Pāndya must have taken place after the coronation and before the 4th year. Even assuming for the sake of argument, that the pursuit took place sometime before the coronation of Ravivarman, how is that reconcilable with the accession of Udayamārthānda in Venad in 1313-14 if the latter were the pursued foe?

That Ravivarman subsequently defeated Sundara Pāndya is unmistakably inferred from the inscription at Poonamalle.<sup>26</sup> The insignia on the top of the inscription shows the elephant god (Ankusa) the emblem of the Cheras, surmounting the fish and the tiger, the signs of the Pāndya and the Cōla, thereby indicating clearly the establishment of the dominance of the Chera over the Pāndya and Cōla powers.

An apparent incongruity arises as to why Ravivarman who first went to war against Vira Pāndya on behalf of his brother-in-law Sundara Pāndya should have

22. This sets at rest the controversies as to whose daughter Ravivarman married. GOPINATHA RAO conjectured (*T. A. S.* Vol. II, p. 55) that the 'daughter of Pāndya' may have been the daughter of Māravarman Kulasekhara, Jātāvarman Sundara Pāndya II or Vikrama Pāndya.

22a. I do not see how Dr. S. K. Aiyangar is able to conclude definitely that Ravivarman's marriage took place in his 26th year. Mr. S. Desikavinayakom Pillay's suggestion that the poetic expression '*Kṣhmāpāla bālā*' should not be too literally interpreted, carries weight with it; but I feel that even poetic licence could not permit the description of a man of 33 as a '*Kṣhmāpāla bālā*'.

23. This Udayamārthāndavarman must have been a relative of Ravivarman stationed as the local ruler of Vēnād. Later he must have rebelled.

24. See K. A. N. SASTRY'S *Pāndya Kingdom*, p. 207.

25. *T. A. S.* Vol. IV, p. 89.

26. *A. R. E.* 1911—Para. 40.



later turned against the latter himself. It must be remembered that the primary motive of Ravivarman was to win military glory for himself and establish his ascendancy over the Pandyas and Cōlas. That is unmistakably proved by the insignia on the top of the inscription of Poonamalle.

How Ravivarman could have passed by Madura without encountering opposition from the Muhammadan garrison there has been doubted by Dr. KIELHORN<sup>27</sup> and the author of the Mysore Gazetteer<sup>28</sup> but as Prof. K. A. N. SASTRY<sup>29</sup> has shown, the real fact is that no garrison seems to have been stationed at Madura after Malik Kafur's raid. In this connection it must be noted that the statement of Sir W. HAIG<sup>30</sup> that Ravivarman was one of the kings vanquished by Malīk Kafur, is made without any foundation. None of the authorities, Amir Khusrū, Barni nor Wassaf lend support to that view.

Finally there is a confusion in the reckoning of dates of the inscription at Kanchi and at Tiruvadi. His inscriptions assert that he was crowned on the banks of Vegavati at Conjeevaram in his 46th year, which fell in 1312-13 A.D. ~~It~~ it is added that he was at Kanchi also in the 4th year, it must have been about 1315-1316 A.D. And when it is stated in the Tiruvadi inscription that in the same 4th year he was at Tiruvadi, it must be taken that, that again must have been about 1315-1316 A.D. But Dr. KIELHORN seems to have calculated the date of the Tiruvadi inscription wrongly.<sup>31</sup> Dr. S. K. AIYANGAR had accepted the date settled by Dr. KIELHORN but has restated the date correctly later.<sup>32</sup> Mr. GOPINATHA RAO, was, I think, aware of the problem but has not faced it.

Regarding the circumstances leading to his death there have been some discrepancies. In the period corresponding to the 4th year after Ravivarman's coronation at Kanchi, we find inscriptions of Muppidi Nāyaka, the Kākatiya general in the Conjeevaram temple. The date of Muppidi Nāyaka's entry into Conjeevaram according to one of his inscriptions can be reckoned as 25th March 1316.<sup>33</sup> This Muppidi Nāyaka claims to have appointed a Telugu Cōla Chief Mānavira to rule over Conjeevaram. From this it has been concluded<sup>34</sup> that Ravivarman must have been defeated and killed in battle by the Kākatiyas. But while it is true that the Kākatiya chief got possession of Conjeevaram, we cannot be too sure that the enemy vanquished by him was Ravivarman, because there is no reference to the latter in the inscription which records Muppidi Nāyak's victories. It is not improbable that Ravivarman met with a natural death in his homeland, while his deputy or representative at Kanchi might have been defeated by Muppidi Nāyaka.

27. A. R. E. 1900 Para 13.

28. Mysore Gazetteer Vol. II, part II, p. 1266.

29. The Pandya Kingdom p. 208.

30. Cambridge History of India Vol. III, p. 116.

31. Epigraphica Indica Vol. VIII, p. 8.

32. See South Indian and her Muhammadan Invaders p. 124 and New Indian Antiquary Vol. I, p. 167.

33. Epigraphica Indica VII, p. 128.

34. T. A. S. Vol. II p. 57, K. A. N. SASTRY'S Pandya Kingdom p. 213 & Cambridge History of India Vol. III, p. 487.

## MISCELLANEA

### AN ASSAMESE VERSION OF VIṢṆUPURĪ'S *BHAKTI RATNĀVALI*

In ascertaining the date of Viṣṇupurī's *Bhakti Ratnāvali* the following sources are generally taken into account : (1) *Bhaktimālā* of Nabhaji compiled in Samvat 1689 (c. 1633 A.D.), (2) Bengali version of the *Bhakti Ratnāvali* made by Lauriva Krishnadas as in 15th century A.D., (3) the date given at the end of the text of the manuscript published by the Panini Office, (4) the date of the copy of the India Office manuscripts (Samvat 1652 or 1595 A.D.). Mr. M. R. MAJUMDAR, in his article on Saint Viṣṇupurī and his *Bhakti Ratnāvali* in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. VIII (New Series), Part 2, refers to an illustrated Gujarati manuscript, which was copied on Sunday the seventh of dark half of the month Falguna in Samvat 1806 (i.e. 1750 A.D.).

But unfortunately, attention of scholars has not hitherto been directed to another source, namely the vast Vaiṣṇavite literature of Assam. It is interesting to note that Viṣṇupurī's *Bhakti Ratnāvali* was translated into metrical Assamese by Madhab Deva, the chief disciple of Śaṅkara Deva (c. 1449-1569 A.D.), the Vaiṣṇavite apostle of Assam, in the early part of the 16th century A.D. A careful examination of the Assamese version of the *Bhakti Ratnāvali* may throw some light on the few disputed problems connected with the date and life of the saint Viṣṇupurī.

The Assamese version was made by Madhab Deva during the life time of his *Guru*, and when the latter was residing at Patbausi, in the Kamrup district. All the biographers of Śaṅkara Deva give the same account under which the work *Bhakti Ratnāvali* was translated into Assamese verse. The account narrated therein may be summarised as follows : Kanthabhūṣaṇ, a Brahman, being defeated in scholarly debate with Śaṅkara Deva, went to Kāsi to study *Sāstras* under a well-known *Pandit* named Brahmānanda, a desciple of Viṣṇupurī. One day Brahmānanda could not make clear the meaning of a *śloka* of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* to his pupils. But Kanthabhūṣaṇ assisted his teacher by reciting some verses from the Assamese version of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Brahmānanda then enquired about the authorship of those verses and from his pupil Kanthabhūṣaṇ, he came to know all about Śaṅkara Deva, the author of the Assamese version of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

Brahmānanda then remembered about a box left with him by his *Guru* Viṣṇupurī which contained a copy of *Bhakti Ratnāvali*. The Saint Viṣṇupurī, before his death, gave necessary directions about the disposal of the said box. It was said that a Brahman student would come from the eastern part of the country and he would inform Brahmānanda about a Śūdra Vaiṣṇavite preacher of that region. The box together with the text was meant for this Śūdra preacher. Brahmānanda immediately sent the box to Śaṅkara Deva through Kanthabhūṣaṇ. Śaṅkara Deva got the copy when he was at Patbausi ; and at his direction Madhab Deva rendered it into Assamese verse.

Leaving aside the legendary account, it may reasonably be inferred that Śaṅkara Deva got a copy of the *Bhakti Ratnāvali* from Kāsi, and the book was translated into Assamese when he was at Patbausi. During his itinerant life, Śaṅkara Deva visited many places, but finally he settled down at Patbausi some time in 1533 A.D. and stayed there till his demise in 1569 A.D.

Madhab Deva not only rendered the original text into metrical Assamese but also made an extensive use of the commentary known as *Kānti-mālā*. The Assamese version is here and there elucidated by the introduction of some pas-

sages from the commentary. Along with the texts, these passages are also added in versified form. It may therefore be presumed that the copy of the *Bhakti Ratnāvalī* which Śaṅkara Deva received from Kāśī contained with it the commentary known as *Kānti-mālā*.

In his article on the date of Viṣṇupurī in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. V, No. I, pp. 197-99, Dr. S. K. DE holds that Puruṣottama and not Jayadhvajā or Madhavendra Puri was the *Guru* of Viṣṇupurī. In support to his statement, Dr. DE cites from the colophon to the commentary of Dacca University manuscripts. The Assamese version, in the following verses, refers to Puruṣottama as the *guru* of Viṣṇupurī :

महाकान्तिमाला युक्त भक्ति रत्नावली ग्रन्थ	सिसब चंचल दोष मइ छुमियार क्षमा-
करिलोहो अनेक यतने ।	करिबे उचित महन्तर
विचारिया पूर्वापर इहार गुनक जानि	श्रीमन्त पुरुषोत्तम चरण पंकज कृपा
तुमि सब तुष्ट हैवा मने ॥	मकरन्द बिन्दु प्रसादत ॥
इहार श्रीधरस्वामी उक्ति लिखनत यत ।	विष्णुपुरो विरचित श्रीभक्ति रत्नावली-
नूनाधिक मेल निरन्तर ॥	महिमाने मैल समापत ॥

It may therefore be inferred that the Assamese version was made from a similar manuscript now in the Dacca University collections or from Eggeling manuscripts.

There are other references about Viṣṇupurī in Assamese Vaisnavite literature. Ram Charan Thakur, a nephew and contemporary of Śaṅkara Deva, in his Biography of Śaṅkara Deva, gives a detailed account of Viṣṇupurī. Viṣṇupurī's life as a *Sanyāsi*, his subsequent return to householder's life, and the incident leading to the compilation of the anthology are narrated by Ram Charan Thakur in a manner where facts and fiction are interestingly intermingling. It is narrated that after renouncing the world, Viṣṇupurī, while residing on the bank of the Ganges, one day saw a young woman bathing in the river barely naked. This sight aroused in him a passionate desire for his wife and home. And immediately afterwards, Viṣṇupurī returned to his wife to gratify his senses. But his wife sent him away with good chastisements and wise counsels. Thereupon Viṣṇupurī became penitent and determined to make an end of this worldly life by jumping in a burning fire. But Viṣṇu timely appearing before him in disguise, prevented him from this act of self-immolation and bade him to lead a spiritual life by studying *Bhāgavata Sāstra*. Ram Charan Thakur narrates the episode as follows :

भाग्यार बितंडा हेत देखि महामानो ।	शुनियोक बिप्रबर कहो आबे मइ ।
आपोनाक गरहि गैलन्त मने जानि ॥	भागवत शास्त्रक अभ्यास करा तइ ॥
हेन कदर्यैना देखि लागिल विकार ।	कृष्णात भक्ति तोर हैबेक प्रचुर ।
अमि भ्रास कहो मने कैला सार ॥	काम क्रोध लोभ मोइ सब हैबे दूर ॥
.....	
झाम्प दिया अगनित परिबाक गैल ।	भागवत बन माजे आछे महारत्न ।
हेन देखि हरि सन्यासोर आग मैला ॥	मोह उपदेशे लयो करि यत्न ॥
बोले बिप्रबर तुमि महा किक जानि ।	कृष्णात बिबेक तोर बारिबेक आति ।
नमरिबि कहो मइ शुना मोर बानो ॥	दशदिक्के हैबे बिष्णुपुरि नाम ख्याति ॥ *
.....	

Gauhati.

BIRINCHI KUMAR BARUA.

\* *Sankar Charit*, by Ram Charan Thakur, verses 3298-3300, 3302-3303.

## THE KAVĪNDRĀCĀRYA-SŪCĪ — IS IT A DEPENDABLE MEANS FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF LITERARY CHRONOLOGY ?

In a recent article<sup>1</sup> on the "Materials for a Chronological Study of the Tantras" Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya makes the following remarks<sup>2</sup> about the historical value of the *Kavindrācārya-sūcī* :—

"In so far as the Hindu Tantras are concerned we can begin the study with the catalogue of books in the Library of the famous Deccani scholar Kavindrācārya. This list was published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series in the year 1921. Kavindrācārya was a contemporary of Emperor Shah Jahan and Mahāmahopādhyāya Viśvanātha Nyāyapañcanana. From this Mm. Ganganath Jhā concluded 'that Kavindrācārya should be assigned to the middle of the 17th century, i.e. to say Circa 1650. All works mentioned in the Catalogue must belong to a period anterior to 1650 A.D.'"

As contrasted with the implicit faith of Dr. Bhattacharya in the historical character of the *Kavindrācārya-sūcī*, on the strength of which he asserts that all works in this list "must belong to a period anterior to 1650 A.D." we find the following remarks of the Editor of this list Mr. R. A. K. Shastri, on pp. xii and xiii of the Introduction :— "1128—वरिवस्यारहस्य of भास्करराय and 1145 and 2019, etc. in this list and also some other Saṅgita MSS. (Nos.) which were not included in this list but belong to Kavindrācārya, which we have secured lead us to infer that *this list might have been prepared a long time after the demise of the great scholar* when some of his MSS. must have been taken away by others and MSS. of more recent must have been included in the Library ; because Bhāskarācārya wrote ललिता-सहस्रनामभास्य in 1729 A.D., while कवीन्द्राचार्य's date was about 1656. *Here and there names of some recent authors are found sprinkled in this list.* This and the following hindi quotation confirm my conjecture just referred to"

As Dr. Jhā states on p. v of his Foreword to the *Kavindrācārya-sūcī*, "This catalogue was obtained by our late Librarian Mahāmahopādhyāya V. P. Dwivedi, from a certain 'Matha' in Benares." Those who have experience of dealing with the

1. Vide pp. 77-91 of *Bulletin of Rama Varma Research Institute*, Vol. X, Part 11 (July 1942).

2. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

3. I note below some works in the *Kavindrācārya List* which were composed later than A.D. 1650 :—

- 111—लघुशब्देनुशेखर
- 285—वेदान्तकतक
- 354—हठप्रदीपज्योत्स्ना
- 773—रावजीमोडककृत आङ्गिक
- 777—व्रतराज
- 1056—भोजनकुतूहल
- 1146—नागोजिमद्री टीका of सप्तशती
- 1192—शेखर नागेशभट्टकृत
- 1199—कृष्णभट्टी टीका on निर्णयसिन्धु
- 1256—समयनय
- 1407—भारतटीका by चतुर्धर
- 1913—पद्यामृततरङ्गिणी
- 1956—रसतरङ्गिणी नौका

historical nature of Matha' lists and other records will not put much faith in the historical nature of these records unless they are corroborated by other contemporary evidence. The so-called *Kavindrācārya list* containing as it does the names of works prior and posterior to A.D. 1650 have no historical value of a contemporary nature. At best it provides data which needs further verification from reliable sources of literary and other history. A list in which we find a mixture of early and late works can by no stretch of argument be regarded as a contemporary document and consequently it becomes useless for putting any chronological limit to the works mentioned in it. If, therefore, we regard all works in the Kavindrācārya list as having dates prior to A.D. 1650 as Dr. Bhattacharya asserts, we shall be required to push back before A.D. 1650 even very late works of definite chronology, a procedure to which no student of history would agree under any circumstances.

Since the publication of the *Kavindrācārya-sūci* in 1921 no scholar has brought forth any evidence in support of its contemporary nature but on the contrary our examination of the dates of some late works included in it have vitiated the value of the list as a historical document. The real value of the list lies in the material provided by it for further inquiry and verification, especially with regard to the names of unknown works not represented so far in any of our Catalogues of manuscripts. If we are really keen about acquiring exact knowledge of the contents of Kavindrācārya's library of MSS. we must prepare a list of such MSS. in several libraries in India and outside as contain the endorsement "श्री सर्वविद्यानिधानकवीन्द्राचार्यसरस्वतीनां" a *facsimile* of which has been given by Mm. Dr. Jha on p. v of his Foreword to the *K. Sūci*. Such a list will be of some use in giving us more reliable information about Kavindrācārya's MSS. collection than that furnished by the *K. Sūci* which is just like a *Purāṇic* text containing layers of early and late chronology and hence cannot possess any evidential value which is attached to contemporary documents. The work *हठप्रदीपज्योत्स्ना* (No. 350 of *K. Sūci*) is identical with *ज्योत्स्ना*, a commentary of Brahmānanda on the *हठयोग प्रदीपिका* of स्वात्माराम. Meru Śāstri, the *guru* of Brahmānanda was living in A.D. 1859.<sup>4</sup>

Even for putting a chronological limit to the Hindu Tantras the *K. Sūci* is not useful. As Mr. Shastri has pointed out the *वसिष्ठ्यारहस्य* of the Tāntric writer भास्करराय who composed his *ललितासहस्रनामभाष्य* in A.D. 1729 has been included in this *Sūci*. This author composed his *वामकेश्वरतन्त्रटीका* in A.D. 1733. His literary career lasted from the beginning of the 18th century to about 1768 A.D.<sup>5</sup>

The foregoing instances of late works appearing in the *K. Sūci* undermine its value as a contemporary document or a catalogue of MSS. in the Kavindrācārya collection. I would, therefore, request all earnest students of Indian Chronology to ignore it, as it possesses no determinative force owing to its inflated character consequent upon an indiscriminate mixture of early and late works as indicated above. With this exception Dr. Bhattacharya's learned paper under reference will be found very helpful by all interested in the chronology of Tantra works.

Poona.

P. K. GODE.

4. Vide Aufrecht C. C. I, 467.

5. Vide my paper on "The Chronology of the Works of Kṛṣṇadeva" in *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, 1939, page 9, footnote 6 on *Bhāskaraṛāya Makhin*, who wrote more than 42 works on different subjects.

## REVIEWS

*Kannada-Nadina-Kathegulu* (Stories of the Kannada country) by Mr. Narayan SARMA. Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar.

This handy book comprises fifty-six stories dealing with the lives of historical personages of the Kannada country. Each story is prefaced by a short note explaining its setting and source. A short account of the principal ruling dynasties of the territory of Karmāṭaka, whose boundaries are defined, is given as an introduction. This serves as a good historical background for the stories. A chronological table of the memorable events in the history of the Karmāṭaka forms an appendix to the volume. A few illustrations and three maps add to the usefulness of the book.

The aim of the book, as stated by the author in his preface and in the foreword of the publishers, is to create an interest in the minds of children in the past heritage of the Karmāṭaka by means of stories of great personages of this part of India. Naturally, therefore, the author has selected such stories as would appeal to young minds and he has endeavoured to write them in a simple and easy style. Though the selection of the stories may be said to have been made well and carefully some of them are mere sketches without life or spirit, e.g., the story of Puakōśin II (p. 3) and the life of Simhaṇa (p. 46). Candalaḍēvi's story (p. 22) could have been made more interesting by stating, as Bilhaṇa has done, that she was also pining to marry Vikramāditya, having heard of his valour, handsome form etc. The description of the Jaina Vaishṇava pact (p. 66) could have been more graphic and inspiring. Much of the chapter on Muhammad Adil Shāh (p. 124) has been devoted to the account of the rulers that preceded him. The description of the 'Ruins of Hampi' (pp. 82 ff.) cannot be called a *kathe* (story). The language employed, though not difficult, is more colloquial than literary and does not therefore appear to be a good model for the young ones to follow.

Some errors have also crept into the historical notes prefixed to the stories and in other places. The Aihole inscription is published in Volume VI of the *Epigraphia Indica* and not of *Ind. Ant.* as stated by the author. Rēvakā was not the daughter of Amōghavarsha II as stated on p. 10 but of Baddega-Amōghavarsha III. The statement on p. 15 that the Hoysalas ruled for about 90 years is not correct. They ruled independently for over 200 years. The Hoysala king Bittiḍēva came under the influence of the great Vaishṇava teacher Rāmānujāchārya as the latter exercised the *Brahma-Rukshas* which had possessed the king's daughter. The prefatory note on this point on p. 24 is somewhat misleading. The information about the educational institutions at Salōṭgi, Iṭtagi and Nāgai is not found in *Ep. Carnatica* as stated on p. 89. The Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III is not known from inscriptions to have ever gone to Ceylon (p. 109). The date of accession of Dantidurga, the first king of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhēḍ, was A.D. 753 and not 757 as given in the book. There are also some mistakes of print such as *śastrabadinda* for *śastrabaladinda* (p. 70) *mude* for *muride* (p. 71) *Krishṭa* for *Krishna* (p. 79) etc.

In spite of these shortcomings the book, being one of the very few of its kind, is a welcome addition to juvenile literature in modern Kannada and the author is to be congratulated for having accomplished creditably the work undertaken by him.

Ootacamund

N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO

**Bhāsa—A Study** by A. D. PUSALKAR, M.A., LL.B., PH.D., with a foreword by Dr. A. B. KEITH, D.C.L., D.LITT.; Published by Meherchand Lachhmandas, Saidmitha Bazar, Lahore, 1940; Pp. v+iv+472+29+xl; Price Rs. 15; Size :—6½" × 10".

This is an encyclopædic survey of the Bhāsa problem in its manifold aspects. It is a constructive survey of this much debated problem and looks like some of the volumes on public trials, in which all evidence is carefully recorded and judgment given on the strength of evidence brought forth by both the parties. In the world of letters there is no Privy Council which can silence once for all the contending parties but a lawyer who presents a well-reasoned case is listened to with greater attention than his rival. Dr. PUSALKAR has "stated the counter-case fully and fairly and he has avoided acceptance as conclusive of arguments which are merely specious" as observed by Dr. KEITH in his brief but critical Foreword.

The Volume is divided in two Books. BOOK I deals with the Bhāsa Problem and Thirteen Bhāsa Plays and contains 8 chapters :—(1) *Authorship of the Plays*; (2) *Authorship of Bhāsa and Authenticity of Trivendrum Plays*; (3) *The Date of Bhāsa*; (4) *Critical Study*; (5) *Chronological Order of the Plays*; (6) *Relation between Mychakalikā and Cārudatta*; (7) and (8) *thirteen Bhāsa plays*. Book II deals with the sociological conditions of the period as revealed from the works of Bhāsa and contains 12 more chapters :—(9) *Introduction*; (10) *Geographical Knowledge*; (11) *Varnāśramadharma*; (12) *Marriage Laws and Customs*; (13) *Position of Women*; (14) *Urban and Rural Life*; (15) *Court Life*; (16) *Military Organization*; (17) *Architecture, Sculpture and Art*; (18) *Religion, Philosophy, Literature and Sciences*; (19) *Social Life*; (20) *Social Life; Public Vices*. These Chapters are followed by 5 very useful *Appendices* :—(1) *Bibliography of Bhāsa Plays* (Texts and Translations) and Books and Articles on the Bhāsa Problem; (2) *Subhāṣitas* from Bhāsa's Plays; (3) *Anthology verses ascribed to Bhāsa*; (4) *Split-up Verses*; (5) *References to Bhāsa and His Works*. The Index at the end is very exhaustive and makes even the minutest reference accessible to the reader with the greatest ease.

It is no wonder that such a scholarly volume should win for Dr. PUSALKAR the PH.D. degree of the University of Bombay and should find a willing Publisher in Messrs. Meherchand Lachhmandas of Lahore who have brought out this volume as No. VII in their Sanskrit and Prakrit Series. The volume is excellently printed with a nice get-up which heightens the scientifically presented contents of the book. Every lover of our ancient Indian Culture should read this volume, written in easy style, a characteristic of Dr. PUSALKAR's writings. Research students will know from this volume what aspects of the Bhāsa problem need further investigation. They will also be able to avoid much useless repetition in their writings on this problem, which is at times due to want of information regarding published matter on the subject. The volume will, therefore, serve both as a corrective and guide for new entrants in the Bhāsa field of research. As an authoritative survey of a complicated problem Dr. PUSALKAR's present study should serve as a model to younger scholars in the field of Oriental research.

We strongly hope that Dr. PUSALKAR will give us in the near future the results of his new investigations in the field of ancient Indian Culture and literature after having gone through the preliminary ordeal of scientific methodology successfully to the satisfaction of senior scholars like Dr. KEITH who recommends that the present volume will "serve as a useful foundation for further advance in the elucidation of the many problems with which he deals with wide knowledge and often with sound critical judgment."

*Bhāratiya-Tarkaśāstra-Praveśa* by Pandit Raghunātha Śāstri KOKJE, Tarka-Sāmkhya-Tirtha, Lonavala (Dist. Poona), 1941. Pages 12+318. Size 7½"×5". Price Rs. 3-0-0.

It was a happy idea of Pandit Narayan Shastri MARATHI (now Paramahansa Kevalānanda Sarasvatī) to found the Prājñapāṭhaśālā of Wai (Dist. Satara) on the Vijayādāśamī day of Śaka 1838 (1916). Apart from the regular teaching of the Śāstras conducted by this Pāṭhaśālā during the last 25 years and a host of brilliant students it has produced during this period, it has undertaken the work of the Dharmakośa (an encyclopedia of Hindu Religion and Ethics) in several volumes under the guidance of responsible scholars and other public men. Several volumes of this Dharmakośa have already been published and they bear ample testimony to the zeal, industry and scholarly acumen of the editor and his collaborators in this work.

Raghunātha Shastri KOKJE, a student of Pandit Narayan Shastri, has been carrying on the good work of his guru with devotion, tenacity, and perseverance in the sphere of another institution founded by Pandit Narayan Shastri in 1938 viz. the *Dharmamāyā-maṇḍala*. He has so far published three important books in Marathi viz. (1) *Dharmasvarūpaniṣaya*, (2) *Navā Ācāra-dharma* and the present volume (3) *Bhāratiya-Tarka-Śāstra-Praveśa* or an Introduction to Indian Logic. A perusal of this book will easily show the rationalistic bent of Pandit KOKJE'S mind. In the present volume Pandit KOKJE has digested all the major works on Nyāya from Gautama's *Nyāyasūtra* to the *Tarkasamgraha* of Annambhaṭṭa (16th century) and has given his exposition of the principles of Indian Logic and their critical evaluation on the strength of occasional comparisons with the different tenets of European sciences. Indian Logic has a respectable place in the history of works on Logic, both Eastern and Western. Though Logic is an instrument of knowledge and not an end in itself, its study and practical application has a high disciplinary value. It is a mill that grinds down everything put in it slowly but surely.

The work before us is divided into 16 chapters viz. (1) Introductory, (2) Varieties of *Jñāna*, (3) *Pratyakṣapramāṇa*, (4) *Anumāna*, (5) *Saddhetū* and *Hetvābhāsa*, (6) *Upamāna*, (7) *Śabdapramāṇa*, (8) Principles of *Pramāṇavidyā*, (9) Basic Principles of Discussion, (10) *Parānthānumāna* (11) Comparison with European Logic, (12) *Tarka* and *Niṣaya*, (13) Varieties of Discussion and their importance, (14) Various Defects in Discussion, (15) *Tarkaśāstra*, its Merits, Demerits and Limits, and (16) Conclusion. Besides these chapters there are 5 appendices dealing with allied matters, of which the glossary of technical terms is very useful. The index of topics given at the end is also very helpful to the reader.

The book does not aim to be a comprehensive treatise on Indian Logic but is meant to be an Introduction to it. Within these limits the author has tried to make his exposition logical, precise and attractive even to a lay reader. In particular the examples and illustrations introduced by the author in his exposition have been taken from current life and not from the old scholastic treatises. This feature gives a freshness to the exposition and makes it better understood. To the regular students of *Nyāya* in our colleges, the volume should prove very attractive and informative without creating any distaste or fear in their minds for this dry subject. We quite agree with the author in his criticism of the present method of studying Indian Logic in our Universities and Colleges. The present tendency of the teachers in this subject is found more inclined towards a verbose explanation of the prescribed text than towards any authoritative study of the subject or its different topics. This state of affairs can be easily remedied by the appointment of Shastris well versed in the different Śāstras like *Vyākaraṇa*, *Sāhitya*, *Mīmāṃsā*



etc. or their groups. Mere sprinkling of the rosewater of the Śāstras on our undergraduates and graduates as practised by some of our Indian Universities has failed to engender in the students any thirst for knowledge for its own sake. The way of educating disciples followed by the Brahmin teacher 1300 years ago and noted by the Chinese Traveller Yuan Chwang in his *Travels in India* (A.D. 629-645) is worth quoting in this connection. The pertinent extract reads as follows :—

“These teachers explain the general meaning (to their disciples) and teach them the minutiae; they rouse them to activity and skilfully win them to progress; they instruct the inert and sharpen the dull. When disciples, intelligent and acute are addicted to idle shirking the teachers doggedly persevere repeating instruction until their training is finished. When the disciples are thirty years old, their minds being settled and their education finished, they go into office; and the first thing they do then is to reward the kindness of their teachers.” Our colleges boast of their first class candidates and prize-winners every year but what have they done for the idle shirkers?

Poona

P. K. GODE.

*Chitrasena-Padmāvatī-Caritra* of Buddhivijaya, edited by Mul Raj JAIN, M.A., LL.B., Jain Vidya Bhavan, Krishan Nagar, Lahore, 1942. Size :—4½"×7". Pp. 30 + 63. Price Rs. 1-4-0.

This work is a short romance dealing with the story of Citrasena and Padmāvatī and laying stress on the importance of Śīla, chastity. The Jain literature contains many didactic tales dealing with *dāna*, *Śīla*, *tapas* and *bhāvanā* which are regarded as great virtues by the Jainas.

The present story is very popular as will be seen from the several versions of it now preserved viz. by Rājavallabha (A.D. 1467), the present version by Buddhivijaya (A.D. 1603), the Gujarati versions by Bhaktivijaya and Nyāyavijaya, by Pūrṇamallā (in Sanskrit, not yet discovered) preserved by its Hindi rendering and the *Citrasena-Catuṣpadi* (in Hindi). The language of the present version is called “Jain Sanskrit.” This version contains proverbs and quotations from Sanskrit writers, Prakrits and old vernaculars and some verses from the *Pañcatantra Manu-smṛti* etc. It contains words not recorded in Sanskrit dictionaries. A list of such words is given by Mr. Mul RAJ in his elaborate Introduction in English covering no less than 30 pages, which deal with the importance of the story and give its synopsis to help the reader to understand the narrative easily. The present edition is based on two MSS, one of which is dated *Samvat* 1824 (= A.D. 1768) and the other is dated *Samvat* 1946 (= A.D. 1890). The poem contains in all 564 verses.

The Jain Vidyā Bhavan was started at Lahore last year with the object of carrying on critical research in the field of Jain studies. It has been conducting a research journal called the *Jain Vidyā*, some issues of which have already been published under the editorship of Dr. Banarsidas JAIN, the present Director of the Bhavan and his son Mr. Mul RAJ, its secretary. It is a happy augury for critical research in the field of Jain studies that highly educated Jainas should shoulder the burden of these studies and devote their leisure and resources to this important work in the manner of these devoted scholars.

Poona

P. K. GODE.

*Mir Mohammad Momin, His Life and Work* by Dr. ZORE, M.A., PH.D.

Following his able monograph on Sultan Mohammad Quli Qutub Shah, Dr. ZORE presents us with one on his prime minister Mir Momin. In politics as in other spheres, character is of more consequence than intellect. And it is unhappily more rare. In his character, the author presents us Mir Momin, a cultured gentleman, though wealthy and powerful yet gentle and God-fearing; honest in deed and thought and yet outshining in generosity. It is these qualities that make him so pleasant a figure to dwell upon.

Mir Momin's motives are transparent as his utterances—motivated not by personal considerations to his own class, but by real devotion to his country of adoption, to his sense of humanity. Indeed his achievements, great though they have been, not only form real contribution to his times but much more than that. That contribution is spiritual and inspiring.

All the available sources have been utilised and the author has gone to the fountain-head of original Persian manuscripts. The result is a scientific biography to which scholars will have to turn for a long time to come as the standard authority.

There are a few minor mistakes of omission or commission. To cite one, the height of the minarete of Charminar as given by the author 190 ft. is not correct because the height of each minarete from the ground level is 160 ft.

The book has 10 chapters, 34 photo blocks and the *Idarai-adabyat-i-Urdu* deserves our compliments.

Secunderabad

K. SAJAN LAL.

*Journal of Andhra History and Culture*, Vol. I, No. 1 (April 1943), Edited by M. RAMRAO, M.A., PH.D., Guntur, with a Foreword by Prof. K. A. Nilakantha SASTRI.

We welcome this new journal devoted to studies in Andhra history and culture in particular and to Indian history and culture in general. The Editor intends to bring it out quarterly in April, July, October and January every year. Without a determined effort of competent scholars in different provinces it would be well nigh impossible to reconstruct the entire history of Indian life and culture in its correct perspective. It is a happy augury, therefore, that many of our scholars in different parts of India have been concentrating their best attention on the investigation of problems connected with their cultural regions, thus creating local and provincial interest in scientific historical research. The present number of the Journal before us contains useful and scholarly articles by the Editor and other Andhra scholars. We wish this Journal a career of growing prosperity and popularity in the years to come and congratulate Dr. Ramrao on the successful publication of this first issue.

P. K. CODE.

*Pali Mahāvyaākaraṇa*, by Bhikkhu Jagadīśa KĀŚYAPA.

We heartily welcome the publication, by Mahābodhisabhā Sarnath, Benares, of a very standard Pali Grammar, in Hindi. Rev. Jagadīśa Kāśyapa, the author of this excellent work has laid us under very deep obligations. In the first half of the book, he has given a very learned introduction and the lessons in Pali grammar suitably devised by him as within the grasp of students. He always takes his stand

on the sūtras of Moggallāṇa, which he quotes with references and lucidly explains in Hindi. In the latter half of the book, he presents to us the "Nvādi-Vṛtti" on Moggallāṇa, as well as the sūtrapāṭha, Dhātupāṭha and Gaṇapāṭha along with several appendices in which he gives alphabetically arranged lists or useful indexes to the afore-going matter. The index of words used in the illustrations of the sūtras would be warmly welcomed by students of Pali. We may, however, bring the following to the notice of the author :—

(1) An old edition of Moggallāṇa edited by H. Devomittāṇḍa and printed at Colombo in the Lankābhinava-viśruta printing press in A.H. 2434 (A.D. 1891) gives 246 sūtras as against 243 of this edition, in the second kāṇḍa of the sūtrapāṭha, by inserting one after 101 and two after 156 of this edition. This discrepancy, doubtless, needs to be explained.

(2) It must be made clear that several forms as given in even standard editions of Pali grammar like Rūpasiddhi, Kaccāyana, Moggallāṇa or, Mahāsaddanīti do create some confusion in the minds of students. Often the best guide in such cases is the actual use of forms in the best, critically-edited editions. The vidhilinga forms as given in the list on p. 132 of the root 'hu' as 'heyya, heyyaṃ, heyyāsi' etc. may be contrasted with the form 'huveyya' as given in the following quotation from Ariyapariyesana sutta in the Majjhimnikāya (p. 122 of the Devanāgarī edition):

एवं वुत्ते, भिक्खवे, उपको आजीविको 'हुवेय्य पावुसो'ति बत्वा सीसं ओकम्पेत्वा उम्ममगं गहेत्वा पक्कामि ।

It would be interesting to know if the forms given are merely conjectural or based upon any authority.

We have, all the same, every word of praise for this excellent edition of Pali grammar and we recommend that every library of oriental books would be well-advised to add this book to its collection.

P. V. B.

## CERTAIN AUSTRIC-SANSKRIT WORD-CORRESPONDENCES

By

B. KAKATI, Gauhati.

1. Certain well-known Sanskrit words of unknown origin bear such striking resemblances in sound and sense to non-Aryan Austric forms that a comparison seems only too inviting. But owing to lack of sufficient information about the earlier stages of the languages of the Austro Asiatic group, a study of this nature cannot just now go beyond mere comparison in point of sound and sense.

The words examined are grouped under some common characteristic indexes and the most noted word has been placed at the head of each category.

2. *Kāyastha*, a scribe. The function and official status of the *Kāyastha* has been historically examined by Prof. P. V. KANE (NIA, 740-743; A note on the *Kāyasthas*). Its primary meaning is 'a writer' without any reference to caste (Ibid). But though it is invariably associated with writing, there is nothing in the formation to show any connection with it. If looked upon as an OIA. Sanskrit word, its meaning would be something like "staying in the body" which is absurd in its usual connotation of a writer. Most probably it is a non-Aryan formation Sanskritised. Compare the following Austric parallels: Khasi, *thoh*, to write or make a mark; *iathoh* to commit to writing, to make an account; *ka-thoh*, a mark, a spot; *ka-iathoh*, entry in writing; Austric, *kawail*, to scratch; *koih*, to scratch, scrape; S.<sub>30</sub> Munḍ, *tho*, *thuiñ*, to hit the mark as an arrow; Sant. *khayot*, to scrape. An approximation to the sound and sense of *kāyastha* in all these languages of the Austric group may not be altogether fortuitous, and *Kāyastha* may well be a Sanskritisation of a non-Aryan formation like *kaiathoh*.

A few lexical Sanskrit words of undetermined origin with initial *ka-*, *kā-*, may be traced to the same sources. Against Skt. *karayī*, a kind of scaly fish, cf. Austric *kaa*, a fish, F.<sub>38(11)</sub>; Khas. *doh-kha*, a fish; Skt. *kavana*, water, cf. Austric *a-wa'tom*, water, W.<sub>27</sub>; Malayan, *awan*, cloud; Skt. *kaśipu*, a bed, pillow, clothing, cf. Munḍ. *sipi*, to rub the head; Sant. *sipol*, to squeeze in the hand; Austric, *sapo*, slats of thatch; *sapu peningol*, a cap (*peningol* = head) P.<sub>100(11)</sub>; Skt. *kāsara*, a buffalo, cf. Austric *kashak*, *kasak*, *ka-sa*, *sau*, a deer (Sambara) D.<sub>38</sub>; Khas. *ka-sier*, a deer. In Assamese *kāc(s)* ar is a living word meaning a buffalo with long extended horns; Skt. *kaśika*, a mongoose, cf. Munḍ. *siku*, a louse; Sant. *sikric*, a mosquito. The initial *kā-* or its variants function as something like an article in some languages of the Austric group.

3. *Vanga*: ancient name of a part of the modern province of Bengal. It comprised the tract east of the Brahmaputra and north of the Padmā. A

great deal of the delta was marshy and uninhabitable in the early period of Bengal history (*Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, p. 67). Kālidāsa refers to the Vangas as "arrayed in a panoply of boats" (*nausādhanodyatān*; *Raghu* IV. 36). As a Pauranic name, *Vanga* meant both the people and their country. Various suggestions have been made about the origin of the word *Vanga*. Dr. N. N. Choudhury connects it with Tibetan *bans*, marshy or moist (P. L. PAUL : *Early History of Bengal*, Vol. I. p. V). JNANENDRA MOHAN DAS in his Bengali Dictionary connects *Vanga* with Santali *Bonga*, a spirit, Bengal being supposed to have been originally inhabited by the Santali people. Alongside these suggested derivations, the following Austric formations may also be considered : *le-bong*, sea (*le* = water)  $S_{107}$  ; *mam-bong*, belly, hole  $H_{116}$  ; *bong*, mouth,  $M_{202}$  ; *lu-bong*, cave,  $H_{111}$  ; *boang*, to dig up,  $D_{107}$  (11). In all these formations *bong* has reference to some sort of physical depression or cavity and may be looked upon as describing the water-locked condition of the region. In Assamese, *bong* is a common word for a natural spring or channel in a cultivation field.

If the sound similarity be pushed further, ancient *Anga* and *Kalinga* may be equated to Austric *ang*, to gape,  $M_{100}$  ; Khas. *ang*, to open the mouth ; and to Austric *klīng*, noise, respectively. In Assam there is a river named *Kalang* which may be equated to Austric *klong*, noise.

4. *-śrī* as a suffix after river names.

In the Kālikā Purāṇa and the Yoginī Tantra both devoted to giving topographical accounts of early Assam, certain river names contain the suffix *-śrī* : e.g. *Dhana-śrī Svarnāśrī* (popularly called *-siri*). There is also a Tāntric Pīṭha called *śrī-haṭṭa* which gives the name to the present district and town of Sylhet on the *Surmā* river in Assam. *śrī-haṭṭa* is popularly called *Silhat*. Against *śrī*, *sur*, cf. Austric *serong*, *serokn*, a hole, a cave  $D_{16}$  ; Mund. Sant. *sira-soro*, to flow as from a channel ; Khas. *shlei*, to flow. In Bōḍ *di-sor*, to flow ; *sor*, to crawl as a snake ; *sor* is a loan word from Austric (Bōḍo *di* = water). In *Surmā*, the Bōḍ. suffix, *-mā* indicates biggishness. *śrī-haṭṭa* = a fair on the river side.

5. *Saumāra* (cf. also *Sung-Sumāra*, the country of the Bhaggas).

In the Purāṇa and the Tantra above referred to, the eastern portion of early Assam is called *Saumāra*, which is obviously a lengthened form of *Sumāra*. Ancient *Saumāra* is described as having been bounded on all sides by rivers (Yoginī Tantra : 2/1/47-48). About its probable derivation, the following formations may be compared : Khas. *sum*, to bathe, Austric *semit*, turbid water  $W_{38}$  ; Mund. Sant. Khas. *um*, water.

6. *Haya-Grīva* (cf. also *haya-medha*, *haya-tāmra*, *haya-bar*)

In the Purāṇas, *Haya-Grīva* is the name of an Asura. It is also the name of an incarnation of Viṣṇu who killed *Haya-Grīva*, having assumed the form of the Asura so named. There is a temple near Gauhati (Assam) consecrated to *Haya-Grīva Mādhava*. *Haya-Grīva* is usually translated as "horse-necked" (Skt. *haya* = horse). But the form *haya-* occurs in the Yoginī Tantra as the

first element of several compound-words indicating locality, cf. *haya-medha*, name of a mountain (Ibid : 2/6/87) ; *haya-lāmra*, name of a place (Ibid. 2/1/49). Another place-name in Assam is *haya-bar*. It would appear that *haya* is a non-Aryan formation = red ; cf. Khas. *hain-hain*, very red ; Austric *muhum*, *aham*, *ham*, blood, B<sub>240</sub> : *to-han*, *to-han̄*, *to-hui*, red, R<sub>31</sub> ; Mund. *hao-mui*, a large red ant (*mui* = ant). Thus it would appear *haya-grīva* = having a red neck. Might Paurāṇic tribal name *Hai-Haya* be also connected with these formations ?

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## ŪNĀTIRIKTAU AND ĀTYARICYATA

By

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The two purposes of this article are to show from the occurrences of the dual *ūnātiriktau* that Prajāpati as Progenitor and Ruler is to be regarded as a syzygy of conjoint principles, male and female—for which there is plenty of other evidence, which need not be considered here—and to discuss the meaning of *ātyaricyata* in RV. X. 90.5. The basic meaning of *ric* is to “pour forth,” “expend,” “be emptied of,” or “frei lassen” (GRASSMANN, *Wörterbuch*), and thus almost the same as that of *stj* and *sic*: cognates of *ric* include *λσιπω*, *linquo*, lend. The sense is middle or passive in that the subject suffers a loss of whatever has been it itself or in its power (cf. Sāyaṇa on PB. V. 1.4, *śirovyatikta* . . . *dehaḥ*, “headless body”) and now becomes the object of the verb in the accusative; whoever pours himself out being “voided of” that which is poured forth. When *ric* implies excess, the object exceeded may be in the accusative or ablative. In either case the object contrasts with the replete subject as that which is empty or wanting with that which is full or satisfying. The contrasted recipient of what is poured out is referred to as “empty” or “wanting” (*ūna*, *nyūna*, *hina* or *vyṛddha*). Hence *atirikta*, “plus” or “male,” and *īmā*, “minus” and “female”: for “the excessive pertains to the male, the deficient to the female” (*atiriktam vai puṁso, nyūnam striyai*), and it is in this sense that the metres Bṛhad and and Rathanantara are *ūnātiriktau* (AĀ. I. 4.2).

These two contraries, “the excessive and the deficient, are mates for propagation” (*ūnātiriktā mīthunāḥ prajātyai*, TS. V. 1.8.4); the identical doctrine, that the basic realities are the Full and the Void, or Being and Non-being, from which all things are generated, is ascribed by Aristotle (Met. I. 4.9) to the philosophers Leucippus and Democritus. Their clash or encounter (basic sense of *mīthuna*) effects the “creation, which is the emanation of all Being from the Non-being, or Naught” (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.*, I. 45.1); “Non-being is compelled when He calls it into Being” (Rūmī, *Mathnawī* I.3070); “Being takes birth of Non-being” (RV. X. 72.2); the God is both Being and Non-being “(RV. X. 5.7),” I am both the Life and the Death, Being and Non-being (BG. IX. 19). On this basis we find that effective acts of the Sacrifice are performed with sexually contrasted pairs of instruments, and that the altar itself (an image of the cosmic body of Agni-Prajāpati) is composed of *ūnātiriktāni* (ŚB. X. 3.2.13). Pairs of contrasted lauds are employed together, for these are, again, “a plus and minus (or “male and female”) pair for propagation” (*ūnātiriktau stomau mīthunau prajātyai*, PB. XVI. 3.7). “Plus and minus” because “Of all these verses sung together, two exceed the Virāj, and the two deficient are

the woman's for a means of propagation,<sup>1</sup> and so a means of propagation is produced for propagating" (*deve samstutānām virājam atiricyale, deve striyā ūne prajānamāya, prajānamam eva tat kriyale prajātyai*, PB. XIX. 3-9); the Virāj consisting, of course of ten or any multiple of ten syllables, with respect to which round number the excess and deficiency of the separate lauds is reckoned.<sup>2</sup>

And now with reference to Prajāpati: it is to him as their basis that are referred whatever is respectively "excessive" and "wanting" in any performance of the Sacrifice (AB V. 24). This does not mean, or does not only mean, that what is over-done or imperfectly done is referred to him<sup>3</sup> (in the sense that defects are sometimes reduced to Varuṇa), but that the plus and minus factors in the operation are founded in his nature as archetype; for the text goes on to say that "it is according to the excessive and the deficient (i.e. male and female) that offspring are brought forth" (*ūnātiriktaṁ vāṇu prajāḥ prajāyante*),<sup>4</sup> i.e. from a contrary pair (*mūhunena*, JUB.

1. I cannot agree with CALAND that there is any allusion here to RV. IX. 112.4 *romanvantau bhedaḥ* = VS. XXIII. 28 and BU. VI. 4.3 *muṣkau*. The reference of *deve* . . . *deve* is merely to the two by which the number of syllables in the two lauds considered separately exceed and fall short of the number 200. Similarly in JB. 11.238 (No. 147b in the *Auswahl*, cf. PB. XX. 12. 4, 5) where the excess is by three and the deficiency by two syllables, *triny etāni puṁso' tīrktāni yañi sa prajāyati, dve te striyā ūne valah sū prajāyate* does not mean "Die drei sind die drei unzureichenden Genitalien des Mannes (nl. die zwei Hoden und das Glied), wodurch er erzeugt, die zwei sind das doppelte Minus des Weibes, wodurch sie gebiert" but only that "It is by the three extra syllables of the male that he begets, and by the two deficient of the female that she bears."

2. It will be observed that there are many cases in which the combination of lauds does not really produce an exact multiple of ten syllables, but leaves a total exceeding the Virāj by one; in JB. II. 239 and PB. XX. 4 this implies the Progenitor's supremacy with respect to his descendants. The full significance of the residual excess is clearly brought out in TS. VI. 3.4.8 where it is only by means of what is *atiriktam* in the Sacrifice that the Sādhyā Gods can be reached; and of the sacrificial post, it is that part which is transcendent (*atiriktam*), viz. the projection over and above the wooden ring at its top (pertaining to Indra, and evidently representing the Sun) that pertains to these hyper-uranian deities.

With *samstutānām*, cf. *samstava, samstāva*, "concert" in BU. IV. 2.3 (unison of Indha-Indra with the Virāj, his wife) and CU. I. 8.7.

3. Hence the prayer, "What of thee is deficient, that may Prajāpati fill up for thee" (*yat ta ūnam tat ta ā pūrayāti prajāpatiḥ*, AV. XII. 1.61). Cf. the words addressed by a father to a son, *Cacc te ūnam kāmehi aham pariṣṛyāmi te*, J. IV. 120).

In numerous other contexts, of course, *atiriktam* and *nyūnam* simply refer to defects of overdoing and underdoing in the performance of the sacrifice (e.g. TS. III. 4.1.38, BU. VI. 4.26).

4. In TS. VI. 4.10.4,5 "Offspring are brought forth according to the Sukra and Manthin (Soma cups)"; these two, respectively of pure and mixed juice, represent the Sun and Moon and are the "eyes of the Sacrifice" (cf. RV. I. 72.10 *divo* . . . *akṣi*); the former engenders many (*suṁvira*) offspring, the "devourers" (*atī*), and the latter prolific (*supraja*) offspring, the "devoured" (*ādyā*). That



III. 29-11). Thus Prajāpati is propagated from the excessive and the deficient (*ūnāc ca khalu vā atiriktāc prajāpatiḥ prajāyata*, TS. VII. 4-7-3). Again, "Prajāpati is full' (*pūrṇa*), as it were, therefore he offers with a full metre; but from the deficient Prajāpati expressed offspring (*nyūnād dhi prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata*), therefore he offers also with a deficient metre" (TS. V. 1-9-5-2, cf. V. 4-7-5-6, and VI. 1-2-7).

In the same way Sāman and Ṛc, with their connotations Sky and Earth, etc. are respectively and relatively excessive and deficient, and must be adapted to one another for propagation: He, proposing intercourse, "exceeds" (*atyaricyata*) and seeing that "I am not, indeed, adapted to thee" (*na vai tvā anubhavāmi*)<sup>5</sup> he proposes, "Having become the Virāj, let us generate," and they "having become the Virāj" (*virāḍ bhūtvā*) in an explicitly ten-fold form<sup>6</sup> produced as their offspring the Sun (JUB. I. 7,8). The Virāj is thus a syzygy of male and female principles, and it is in this connection that AV. VIII. 9-10 asks, "Who knoweth her conjugational-nature (*mithūnatvam*)?" and that it is said in Manu I. 32 that the Lord, dividing his body so as to become half a male and half a female (cf. BU. I. 4-3), "with her produced the Virāj." The Virāj, accordingly can be referred to either as male or female and identified, for example, either with Indra (AV. XI. 5-16 or with Indrāṇi (BU. IV. 2-3), with Agni (ŚB. X. 4-3-21) or with This (Earth) (ŚB, XII. 6-1-40). In TS. V. 5-4-1. The Sky as Svarāj is contrasted with Earth as Virāj, and emits the seed (*retah sīcati*) that is propagated on Earth; and that is "in the deficient" (*nyūne*), since "it is in the deficient that seed is emitted" (*nyūne retah sicyate*, AA. I. 1.2 and I. 3.7).

It naturally follows that when Prajāpati has expressed (*sṛṣtvā*) his offspring, all beings, and is divided up to fill these worlds, and being embodied is subject to death, he "feels himself emptied out, as it were (*iricāna iva*), and falls down and must be restored and put together again, whole and complete' as once more the "Self of all beings" (TS. V. 1-8-3, VI. 6-5-1; ŚB. III. 9.1.2, X. 4.2.2, X. 4.4.1 PB. IV. 10.1, XV. 8.2 etc). Analogically, the Sacrificer who inseminates himself into the Fire of which he is to be reborn is "emptied out (*iricāna*) as it were" (TS. 1-7-5-2, VI. 6-5-1, ŚB. III. 8-1-2, KB. X. 3). It is in the same way that we still speak of insemination as "spending" and are aware that one is thus "spent" or "spilt," and that to have an emission is to "die." The passive participle

is, the Sun begets his like in men, and the Moon her like in women, or more generally in functionally male or functionally female beings; of whom the former are the enjoyers (*bhoktṛ*) and the latter the food (*bhojana*, *bhojya*); in this sense subjects are "food" for Kings, and Kings for Brahmins and all things for Death.

5. An adaptation or knowledge (*anubhava*) is necessary because "whatever seed overflows the vulva (*yad vai retraso yonim atiricyate*) is wasted, and what too little (*nyūnam*) abortive, whereas what fits the aperture (*yat sambilam*) is effective" (ŚS, VI. 3-3-26).

6. In the list of ten syllables the Vaṭ or Vauk form of the Vaṣatkāra must be intended, as otherwise the number of syllables would be eleven.

*rikta* is naturally also "emptied," as in ŚA. XI. 1; but as that which can be emptied must have been full, and if inexhaustible will be always full, *atirikta* in most of our contexts implies an abundance rather than any lack; it is only that which can be filled that is really empty. Hence is ŚB IV. 3.4.4 *rasaḥ ... atiriktaḥ*, "the Soma was overflowing" and in 3, *atiriktam gṛhṇāti*, "he draws an extra cup"; in the first of these the meaning is that fluid was running over or spilling. The opposite *anātikṛta* is "not overflowing," and so unequivocally "full" or "entire," as in ŚB. N. 4.3.24 *anātikṛtaḥ vai puruṣam Vīryam*, "the Person's virility is entire"; here the continence of the deity now built up again whole and complete is contrasted with the incontinence of the creative act of generation. In the same way *anikta*, "not emptied" is a "full" (vessel) in TS VI. 4.9.5, i.e. *pūrṇa* as in TS. V. 4.7.3 and VI. 1.2.7: "One Season (i.e. the Year, Prajāpati) is never (really) emptied out" (*eka itū nātiricyate*, AV. VIII. 9.26); and "the little self is emptied, the Great Self full" (*paritto appātumo ... aparitto mahattā*, A. I. 249).

That the deity is thus both "emptied out as it were" and at the same time "never emptied out," i.e. incontinent and continent, just as he is both "mortal and immortal," "many and one," "finite and infinite," etc., implies the infinity of the inexhaustible source: viz., that though "the Full by the Full is poured out" (*pūrṇam pūrṇma sicyate*, AV. X. 8.29), still "when the Full is taken from the Full, the Full indeed remains" (*pūrṇasya pūrṇam ādāya pūrṇam vāvasīsyate*, BU. V. 1). In the same way the Breath (*prāna*, immanent Brahma and Sun) is "not flowing" (*akṣara*, imperishable, immutable, Oṃ, Brahma), not because it does not "flow" (*kṣarati*) for all these beings, but because "they do not pour him out" (*na cainam atikṣarānti*, AA. II. 2.2), i.e. cannot exhaust him. This is the basis of the symbolism of the "Full Vessel" (*pūrṇa ghaṭa, kumbha, kulaśa, pātra*) in Indian ritual and of that of the Grail as an inexhaustible "vase of plenty." There can be no doubt that the Full Vessel is an equivalent of the Sun, thus AV. XIX. 53.3 where "A Full Vessel is apportioned in Time" (*adhi kāla āhitah*) and so becomes "manifold" (*bahudhā*) is not, as WHITNEY supposed, "highly obscure," but perfectly intelligible in the light of the saying "The Sun is the origin of Time" (MU. VI. 14), Prajāpati's expressed desire, *bahu syām* (PB. VII. 6.1) and the words *vibhṛtaḥ putrā* (RV. III. 55.4) and *bahudhā jāyemāna* (Muṇḍ. U. II. 2.6). In TS. VI. 5.10 the Śukra and Manthin cups represent the Sun and Moon, and since it is "according to them that offspring are born" (see Note 4 above) it follows that the Sun is the "Full" (m.) and the Moon the "Deficient" (f.) vessel. The Full Vessel, in other words is the Inexhaustible Well and Fountain of Life and Youth, and it is for us to "Milk the well that never fails" (*utsam duhanto akṣitim*, RV. VIII. 7.16).

7. With *rikta* and (*ati-*) *rikta* in these apparently opposite senses cf. *reku*, empty and *rekṇa* abundance, and *pūrṇam*, zero and pleronna.

The foregoing collations have made it clear that Prajāpati, i.e. the Person, Brahma, Ātman as 'Progenitor *ex quo omnis paternitas nominatur in coelo et terra*, is to be thought of as a syzygy of male and female principles ; as might have been shown in many other ways. At the same time we have seen that the basic meaning of *ric* is to "pour out" and that *ric* is often equivalent to *srj*, "effuse" or "express" and *sic*, "sprinkle," "emit." *Ric*, at the same time has a reflexive or passive sense comparable to that of "void" an apparently active verb that also means to "be voided of." All "pouring" implies a giving up or giving out of what has been within, or in the power of the subject ; the action taking for granted that the subject is full and that the recipient can be filled.

In RV. *ric* has likewise the meanings "pour out," "expend," "relinquish" : thus in VIII. 58.3 *ati riktam pibadhyai* is "drink the outpoured Soma" (cf. ŚB. IV. 3.4.3 *aliriktam ghrṇāti*) ; in II. 22.2 Indra "pours out" *pra ... aricyata*). Soma as a libation to the Gods, as he evidently does not in VI. 20.4 *pitvo nāricīt kim cana pra*, "he did not pour out any of the drink" ; in X. 10. 7 Yamī "would yield" (*ricicyāma*) her body to Yama, like a wife to a husband ; in X. 13. 4 Yama "gives up" (*arirec*) his own body to the Gods, sacrificially ; in I. 113.1 and 124. 8 the Sisters Night and Day alternately "surrender" (*āraik*) the womb to one another ; in VIII. 100.12 Indra addresses Viṣṇu, saying "Slay we Vṛtra, let us pour forth (*rinacāva*) the rivers, let them go free (*yantu ... viṣṭṣāh*) at Indra's instigation" (cf. AV. III. 13. 1,2), as in IV. 8. 17 he "lets them go" (*asṛjata vi*).

RV. X. 90.5 *aty aricyata* is middle Imperf.-Indicative and has for its object *bhūmim*, Earth, and *purāḥ*,<sup>8</sup> "the cities," i.e. bodies of living beings ; and Sāyana paraphrases *alirikto' bhūt* and *sasarja*, "he became emptied out" and "he expressed, or emanated." He evidently thinks of the Sacrificial Person as *ricicāna*, and it is indeed from him that, in the following verses, all things are brought forth. The sense of the whole line is then, "He, having been born, thereafter outpoured Earth and then the bodies of living beings." It by no means follows that the sense "exceeded" must be excluded ; it is, on the contrary implicit in the verb itself. But the simpler sense of "poured out" is more in accord with that of the other occurrences of *ric* that have been cited from RV.

8. Sāyana, no doubt reads *purāḥ* in the sense of the more usual *pūrah*, and this could be supported by the occurrence of *durāḥ* in RV. I. 193.7, with *dūrah* elsewhere. If we do not like to follow Sāyana in this, the sense will be "poured forth the Earth from West to East," i.e. the whole extent of Earth. For the Earth as something flowing forth cf. PB. XX. 14.2 and cf. JUB. 1.57.5 ŚB. VI. 1.3.6.7.

## ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS IN ŚANIVARA PETH, POONA CITY

By

Y. R. GUPTE, Poona.

For a long time Poona was believed to be a hamlet of no particular importance. The growth of it was supposed to be the work of Dādoji Kōṇḍ Dev, buildings like Lāla Mahāla and Ambarkhūā, testifying to the glory of the period. Later on Bājirao I built the Sanivara Wada. Nānasaleb his son added the rampart and the Bastians Kāsārī, Kumbhārī Mād and Munjeri had been already included.

But Poona was a very important centre even in the stone age. Above the Chatussprīṅī temple, there was an observatory. It is proved beyond the shadow of a doubt by the discovery of the Talegāon copperplates of Kṛṣṇa-rāja I of Wednesday, the 23rd March 768 A.D., that Poona was the seat of a district administration and was called Pūnaka. Further light was thrown on the form of the name approaching the modern one namely Pūnya, by the publication of the grant of the same king of the Śaka year 680<sup>2</sup> dated the 6th October 758 A.D. edited by Mr. D. V. APTEL in the Quarterly Journal of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samsodhaka Maṇḍala with my note<sup>3</sup> on it.

After being officially posted to Poona in 1918 to 1921, in 1926 and again in 1930, my interest naturally focussed on the archæological remains here. In my article on the Indo-Āryan style of architecture, I dwelt along with numerous Hindu temples and other remains on the Nanadi kiosk of the Pāñchāleśvara or as locally named Pātaleśvara temple close to my Gupta Cottage.

During the years mentioned, I noted a good many sculptures and architectural fragments near the Nākzari as it is now styled, but which name is probably to be derived from Nāga-sarīt, a rivulet flowing from or by the side of a Nāga figure or Nāgeśvara in the Samavara Peth and Kasaba, Mangalvara and Sanivara Peths.

After my retirement in 1937, I found that a good many of them had disappeared. Alas I had not the leisure to photograph them before! For a time I was engaged in Government work, writing notes for my *Guide to Elephanta* and articles for the journals of several learned societies. Then came my long illness in 1941, 1942. After recovery I made it a point to contribute a few articles to the volume of the Research Committee of the

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIII, pp. 275-282.

2. *Quarterly Journal of the Bhārata-Itihāsa-Samsodhaka-Maṇḍala*, Vol. No. 3, pp. 165-170.

3. *Ibid.* pp. 170-173.

Poona City (Nagara-saṁśodhana-samiti) and especially to examine the archaeological remains closely, which I had before my mind's eye.

So on the 22nd February 1943, I alone started at about 4 p.m. and leisurely surveyed the remains from the burial ground opposite to the Vṛddheśvara temple straight up to the Kumbhāvesa. I noticed that this site had never been closely examined by an antiquarian. The circle being a large one, an archaeological Superintendent could hardly find time to undertake the work.

When I came in front of what is now called the Thorla Shekasallā and below the main Muhammedan sanctuary, I discovered hundreds of architectural fragments which could throw a flood of light on the history of the site. Most of them are not *in situ*. They are evidently re-arranged. Many pillars are laid sideways. Lintels and head-pieces of pillars are promiscuously used for steps leading to the river Muthā.

But to judge from the ornamental designs and small images, they are certainly the remains of a Hemādpanṭī temple and perhaps more than one subsidiary temples. For their characteristics I would refer the readers to my pamphlet on "A Key to the Hemādpanṭī Temples." Hemādpanṭī style was a section of the Indo-Āryan style of Architecture prevailing in the Deccan before and after Hemādpanṭ or Hemādri, the minister of Rāmdcvārāo Yadav of Devagiri. It would be beside the point to explain in detail the characteristics. Suffice it to say that the fragments and images will go to the length of determining the approximate date. As we have no epigraphical evidence to corroborate it up till now, a margin of one hundred or one hundred and fifty years has to be allowed.

From Purandhar in the Poona district to Śrīgonda, Sangamner and Akola in the Ahmednagar district and Paithan in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, the same style prevails from the 10th to the 13th century A.D. with slight alterations varying with the age.

On the 23rd February 1943, I took my camera to the riverside and asked my youngest son and two grand-sons to accompany me. In one photograph, I took, (A), Raghu, my son, is to the reader's left and my grandsons are to his right. Between them below a shrub is a part of a lintel. The pillar together with circle and leaf design indicate the age namely the 10th to the 12th century A.D. The image of Gaṇeśa is the central figure. Below it lies another architectural fragment namely the head of a pillar. The central object is the figure of a yaksha. Such images are found on most Hemādpanṭī temples for instance at Sinnar and Akola in the Nasik and Ahmednagar districts respectively. Other fragments are also noticeable. In photograph (B) my son's left hand is resting on a fragment the central object of which is apparently the goddess Devī standing. But the identifi-

4. 2nd Edition, 1931, pp. 12-13.

5. *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference*, Poona, Vol. I, 1920, p. clxxvi.

cation is not quite certain as the figure is much damaged. My son's right hand is resting on a fragment, the central figure of which is a standing one. As the head and hands are partly gone, it can hardly be definitely identified.

The main significance of these reproductions is that they doubtless indicate that on this site are re-arranged architectural fragments of a temple or temples. Secondly they are of a later Hemādipantī type prevailing from the 10th to the 13th century A.D. To judge from all the points taken together the 11th or the 12th century A.D. is most probably the correct date. We know that the temple of Nārāyaṇeśvara<sup>6</sup> stood on the site. If most of the fragments belong to that temple as is more than probable - it is to be assigned to that period.

The *Bombay Gazetteer*<sup>7</sup> records :- "The two Shaikh Sallās Thorla or the elder and Dhākta or the younger are two Musalman shrines or Dargas on the river bank in Kasaba ward. They stand on the site of two Hindu temples of Nārāyaṇeśvar and Puṇeśvār. According to the local tradition, in 1290, Sayed Hīsa Mohidin Khalal and four other Musalman ascetics came from Delhi, desecrated the temples, threw away the lingas, and turned the temples into shrines or dargas. The temple of Puṇeśvar became known as Shaikh Salla-uddin's or the younger Shaikh Sallā's shrine and Nārāyaṇeśvar temple as Shaikh Hīsa Mohidin's or the elder Shaikh Sallā's shrine. . . . In this row of buildings a door, whose posts are thickly covered with old horse shoes, opens into an inner courtyard with several tombs. The tombs to the right are of little size or interest. But opposite the doorway, a later monument, of no great elegance, with some open trellis windows, is said to be the tomb of a grandson of Aurangzeb who is said to have been buried here for a year and to have been then carried to Aurangabad. Further to the left the large dome with the gilt crescent is the tomb of Shaikh Salla, and still further to the left is a mosque on the site of the Puṇeśvar temple, whose images are said to be buried under the foot of the mosque. The mosque bears marks of its Hindu origin in three doorway pillars, two of which are old Hindu work, square at the bottom, then rounded, then octagonal and again square. The door is also Hindu with a Ganapati niche in the lintel. The ruins of the original Nārāyaṇeśvar temple are still scattered about to the south-west of Hīsa Mohidin's tomb. They consist chiefly of stone columns and lintels some in their places and others strewn over the ground. The columns and lintels and the form of the old temple are in old Hindu style."

1290 A.D. can be the latest date for the two Hindu temples Puṇeśvara in Kasaba and Nārāyaṇeśvara formerly in Kasabā but now in Sanivara Peth, Thorla Shaikh Salla now bearing the City Survey No. 23. It is doubt-

6. Some would believe Puṇeśvara. I follow the *Gazetteer*.

7. Vol. XVIII, Part III, pp. 343-344. (1885).

8. The Puṇeśvar ling is laid to have been taken to the foot of Purandhar fort, where a temple still remains which was built for it.

ful whether the Muhammadans were so powerful in 1290 as to demolish these temples if they were in really good condition. So they may range from the 10th to the 12th century A.D. in all probabilities allowing sufficient time for dilapidation. A mountain seems to have been made out of a mole hill. This is also borne out by the designs and the small images described above.

It is hoped that my study of the Puṇeśvara temple and Dhāktā Shaikh Sallā later on when my survey will be finished, will yield more definite materials for the glorious history of the past.





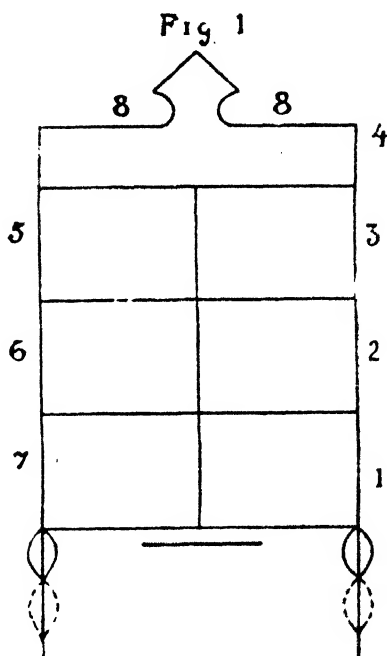


# A TYPE OF GAME PREVALENT IN CENTRAL PROVINCES

By

CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA Raipur.

The object of this short note is to describe a type of game called *chikri billā* (i.e., "round brickbats") and not noticed previously by any scholar.<sup>1</sup> It is played in the Central Provinces by children who are generally between 6 and 12 years in age. It is generally played on the roof of a house or in any place where a figure like the accompanying diagram can be drawn. It is played by an even number of children so that they may be divided into two parties of equal strength. No court of the figure is inscribed; and it is for the sake of correct and clear description of the game that they have been marked 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8.<sup>2</sup> Though they are not inscribed, yet they are by convention known amongst players as *pahālī* (i.e., first), *dusri* (i.e., second), *tisri* (i.e., third), *chauthi* (i.e., fourth), *pachmi* (i.e., fifth), *chhatmi* (i.e., sixth), *satmi* (i.e., seventh), and *palād* (i.e., mountain). It is thus evident that the first seven courts are called in a numerical manner while



1. This game is known as *chikri billā* in Hindi because the game-piece which is used here must be round.

2. No. 8 is not a court in the strict sense of the term as it is nothing but the unbounded space above the court 4.

the eighth is differently called as *pahād* (i.e., mountain). The rule of this game is as follows. A round brickbat is chosen as the game-piece. One player belonging to either of two parties stands outside the courts 1 and 7 and throws the game-piece into the court 1 in such a way that it does not touch any line forming this court. This rule is also applicable to all other courts. Then he places one of his feet on the game-piece and also takes his other leg into the same court in a jumping manner. Then he turns about with the game-piece under one foot and drives it away with his foot outside the figure in the direction from which he has thrown it. Then he touches it with one foot and takes his other leg also outside the figure. Then he throws the game-piece into the court 2 in the same manner as in the court 1. Then he places one foot on the game-piece and takes his other leg also into the same court by jumping over the court 1. Then he drives it away with his foot outside the figure in the direction from which it has been thrown and returns outside the figure in the same manner as he had gone into it touching the game-piece with one foot. Then he throws the game-piece into the court 3 in the same manner as in the courts 1 and 2. He enters the court 1 and jumps over the court 2 into the court 3 in such a manner that one of his feet touches the game-piece which is there. Then he drives it away outside the figure in the direction from which it has been thrown. Then he jumps over the court 2 to the court 1, touches the game-piece with one foot and takes his other leg also outside the figure. Then he throws the game-piece into the court 4 in the same manner as in the courts 1-3. He enters the court 1 and jumps over the court 2 into the court 3. Then he keeps one of his legs in the court 3 and the other leg on the game-piece which is in the court 4. Then he drives away the game-piece which is in the court 4 into the court 3 with the leg which he has placed in the court 4 and also draws that leg into the court 3. Then he moves about with it under one foot. Then he drives away the game-piece outside the figure in the direction from which it has been thrown and jumps over the court 2 into the court 1. Then he touches the game-piece with one foot and takes his other leg also outside the figure. Then he throws the game-piece into the court 5 in the same manner as in the courts 1-4. He enters the court 1 and then jumps over from the court 1 to the court 3. Then he places his left leg in the court 4 and his right leg on the game-piece which is in the court 5. Then he drives away the game-piece outside the figure with the right leg in the direction from which he has thrown the game-piece into the court 5. Then he returns outside the figure in the same manner as he had gone into it and touches the game-piece with his foot. Then he throws the game-piece into the court 6 in the same manner as in the courts 1-5. He enters the court 1 and jumps over from the court 1 to the court 3. Then he places one of his legs into the court 4 and takes his leg which is in the court 3 to the court 6 and also keeps the leg originally kept in the court 4, in a raised condition. Then he drives it away with the same leg which is on it towards the direction from which it has been thrown, returns in the same manner as he had gone and touches it with his foot. Then he throws the game-piece into the court 7 in the same manner as in the courts 1-6. He enters the court 1 and jumps over from the court 1 to the court 3. Then he takes his leg into the court 4 and another leg into the court 5 and drives away the game-piece with the leg which is in the court 4 outside the figure by jumping over the court 6. The leg which is in the court 5 should not be lowered down. Then he returns in the same manner as he had gone into it and touches the game-piece with his foot. Then he throws the game-piece into the court 8 in the same manner as in the courts 1-7. He enters the court 1 and jumps over from there to the court 3 over the court 2 and from the court 3 to the court 8 over the court 4 raising one of his legs and touching the game-piece with the other leg and drives away the game-piece with the lowered leg outside the figure. Then he returns in the same manner as he went and touches the game-piece with his foot.

The successful playing of the whole game by one party is known as one *phalli*. It is decided before the commencement of the actual game the number of *phallis* which one party should make to win the game and the party which takes this number earlier becomes the winner. If one party makes one *phalli*, it is drawn at the right end of the court 1 like a spear-head. If more than one *phalli* is made, it is also increased as it should be. The *phallis* won by the other party is also drawn at the left end of the court 7. When a *phalli* is drawn, the player gets the advantage that he can place his legs on it to touch the game-piece, the *phalli* serving as a bridge. The game-piece of one party should not touch the *phalli* of the other party. The game starts with a player of one party. When he cannot do the needful in some court, then he becomes *mor* (i.e., dead). Then the player of the opposite party begins the game. When this player becomes *mor* (i.e., dead), then the player next in order in the previous party begins the game from the court where the previous player of his party was *mor* (i.e., dead).

There are certain features in this game which should be mentioned. First, as the last court in the game is known as *pahād* (i.e., mountain) and as the player's chief idea is to reach this court, there is no doubt that this game symbolises the climbing of a hill by men. When the players go down by the courts 5-7, it appears that this figure symbolically represents the zig-zag path over the mountain. Secondly, it is important to note that there is a fundamental similarity in idea between this game and another game played in East Bengal. Here the players move towards a mountain whereas in that game the players move towards a river.<sup>3</sup>

## MISCELLANEA

### RUDRADAMARŪDBHAVASŪTRAVIVARAṆA

AUFRECHT in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* I, 530, notices a MS. of *Rudraṇamarūdbhavasūtravivarana* in the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner. A second copy of the work is not so far known to exist in any of the well known collections. It is a small work consisting of 45 verses and a few lines of prose. The MS. is written on paper of 7" × 5", the left hand and right-hand borders being ruled with a double line. There are 8 folios with 7 lines in a page. The paper is brittle and the MS. which has been preserved well, appears to be more than a century old. This does not, however, rule out the possibility of its belonging to Maharāja Anup Singhji's time (17th century).

The author and date of the work are not known. As the title indicates, this treatise professes to trace the origin of music to Rudradamarūdbhavasūtra, i.e., the Akṣarasamāmnāya of Pāṇini; and this fact could not but have aroused the curiosity of scholars interested in the development of Indian music. Although the portion attempting this is not very much convincing, the work will have served its purpose if the rest of it makes any contribution to the development of the Mārga variety of Indian music with which it is mainly concerned. I am presenting it as best as I can from the only MS. which is full of mistakes. The metre is faulty in some places. My own additions are shown in brackets.

अथ गान्धर्वः ।

मार्गं देशीं च यो वेत्ति स गान्धर्वोऽभिधीयते ।

न गायन्ति मनुष्योक्तं गीतं ये शिवतत्पराः ॥ १ ॥

गायन्ति मन्त्रगीतादि तान्गान्धर्वान्जगुर्बुधाः ।

इति गान्धर्वः ॥

यो वेत्ति केवलं मार्गं स्वरादिः स निगद्यते ॥ २ ॥

इति स्वरादिः ॥

हृद्यशब्दः सुशारीरो ग्रहमोक्षविचक्षणः ।

रागरागाङ्गभाषाङ्गक्रियाङ्गोपाङ्गकोविदः ॥ ३ ॥

प्रबन्धगाननिष्णातो विद्यालपः ( न ) तत्त्व विद् ।

सर्वस्थानोत्थगमकेष्वनायासलसद्गतिः ॥ ४ ॥

आयत्तकण्ठस्तालज्ञः सावधानो जितश्रमः ।

शुद्धच्छायायामिज्ञः सर्वकाकुविशेषविद् ॥ ५ ॥

अपरस्थायिसंचारसर्वदोषविवर्जितः ।

क्रियापरोऽल्यः सुघटो धारणान्वितः ॥ ६ ॥

स्फूर्जन्निर्ज्वनो हारिरहकृद्भजनोद्भुरः ।

सुसंप्रदायो गीतज्ञैर्गीयते गायनाग्रणीः ॥ ७ ॥

गुणैः कतिपयैर्हानो निर्दोषो मध्यमो मतः ।

महामहेश्वरेणोक्तः सदोषो गायनाधमः ॥ ८ ॥

शिक्षाकारोऽनुकारश्च रसिको रञ्जकस्तथा ।  
 भावकश्चेति गीतज्ञा पञ्चधा गायनं जगुः ॥ ९ ॥  
 अन्योन्यशिक्षणे दक्षः शिक्षाकारो मतः सताम् ।  
 अनुकार इति प्रोक्तः परभङ्गयनुकारतः ॥ १० ॥  
 रसाविष्टस्तु रसिको रञ्जकः श्रोतृरञ्जकः ।  
 गीतस्यातिशयाधानाद्भावकः परिकीर्तितः ॥ ११ ॥  
 एकलो यमलो वृन्दगायनश्चेति ते त्रिधा ।  
 इति गापनगुणाः ॥

अथ गायनदोषाः ।

संदष्टोद्धृष्टसीत्कारा भीतः शङ्कितकन्पिताः ॥ १२ ॥  
 कराली कपिलः काकी विताली करभोद्धटः ।  
 श्रोम्बकस्तुम्बकी वक्त्री प्रसारी विनिमीलकः ॥ १३ ॥  
 विंगसापस्वराव्यक्तस्थानभ्रष्टाव्यवस्थिताः ।  
 मिश्रकोऽनवधानश्च तथान्यः सानुनासिकः ॥ १४ ॥  
 ( चतु ) र्विंशतिरित्येते गायका निन्दिता मताः ।  
 प्रथमं गायनोच्चारं कारोऽष्टादशधा स्मृतः ॥ १५ ॥  
 तत्त्वगुत्रं मन्त्रगुत्रं भूतसूत्रं ततः परम् ।  
 रौद्रं सारस्वतं चैव पाटसूत्रं तु षड्विधम् ॥ १६ ॥  
 षट्त्रिंशदक्षरं तत्त्वसूत्रं ब्रह्मप्रभाषितम् ।  
 मन्त्रगुत्रं महापुत्रं पञ्चाशदक्ष ( रा ) न्वितम् ॥ १७ ॥  
 रुद्रसूक्तं समायुक्तं द्विचत्वारिंशदक्षरैः ।  
 गारस्वतं तु तत्परं पाटगुत्रेऽर्णविंशतिः ॥ १८ ॥  
 एवं वर्णक्रमं ज्ञात्वा मूलमूत्रानुसारतः ।  
 युक्तानि ह्रस्वस्वरस्तानि त्रयस्त्रिंशद्वलः स्मृताः ॥ १९ ॥  
 स्वराः षोडश संप्रोक्तास्ते च नित्यस्वरूपिणः ।  
 हलः शिवाः समाख्याताः शिवशक्त्यात्मिकाः स्वराः ॥ २० ॥  
 षडङ्गसहितान्वर्णान्यो जानाति स तत्त्वविद् ।  
 ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतास्ते स्युर्दुर्तरूपार्धमात्रिकाः ॥ २१ ॥  
 रौद्रमङ्गीकृतं तेषु पाणिनीयमुनीश्वरैः ।  
 अक्षरं प्रथमं सूत्रं द्वितीयं द्व्यक्षरं मतम् ॥ २२ ॥  
 तृतीयं द्व्यक्षरं प्रोक्तं चतुर्थं द्व्यक्षरं स्मृतम् ।  
 चत्वारि स्वरसूत्राणि स्वरास्तैस्तु नव स्मृताः ॥ २३ ॥  
 सर्वे ते स्वराः प्रोक्तास्तेषु ऋ लृ नपुंसकौ ।  
 त्रिविधं स्वरसूत्रं तु नामाक्षरस्वरात्मकम् ॥ २४ ॥  
 त्रिसूत्रैस्ते स्वराः प्रोक्ता द्वितीयं तु निरर्थकम् ।  
 लघुसूत्रं तु प्रथमं गुरुसूत्रं तृतीयकम् ॥ २५ ॥

चतुर्थं प्लुतसूत्रं स्यादङ्गुलं सरिगाः स्मृताः ।  
 एओङ् मपौ धनी ऐऔच् द्वेधा सप्तस्वरा मताः ॥ २६ ॥  
 अस्माद्यद्विगुणं प्रोक्तं मन्द्रस्थानं तदुच्यते ।  
 मन्द्रात्तु द्विगुणं मध्यं मध्यात्तारं तृतीयकम् ॥ २७ ॥  
 उदात्ते निषदगान्धारावनुदात्त ऋषभधैवता ।  
 स्वरितप्रभवा ह्येते षड्जमध्यम धैवताः ॥ २८ ॥  
 एवं ते त्रिविधाः प्रोक्ता वे(द्याः) शास्त्रविशारदः ।

चतुःसप्ताङ्गविधिसप्तदशविंशतिर्द्वाविंशतिरिति सप्तस्थानसंस्थिताः शुद्धाः ।

येषां शुद्धत्वहानिः स्यात्ते स्वरा विकृता मताः ॥ २९ ॥

स्थानद्वयसमारम्भात्षड्जग्रामस्य मूर्च्छनाः ।  
 सप्तैव तासां नामानि चोक्तानि भरतेन च ॥ ३० ॥  
 तेष्वेकैका भवेन्मूर्च्छा सप्तधा तानभेदतः ।  
 आर्चिका गायिका चैव सामिकाश्च स्वरान्तरा ॥ ३१ ॥  
 औडवा षाडवा पूर्णा सप्तधा मूर्च्छना मता ।  
 तत्रार्चिकैकरूपा स्याद्विद्विरूपा गायिका स्मृता ॥ ३२ ॥  
 षड्गुपा सामिका प्रोक्ता स्वरान्ता (तु) विभज्यते ।  
 चतुर्विंशतिभौ रूपैः समन्विता स्वरान्तरा ॥ ३३ ॥  
 सविंशत्या शतरूपा स्यादौडवा मूर्च्छना तु या ।  
 सविंशत्या सप्तशतरूपा या षाडवा स्मृता ॥ ३४ ॥

चत्वारिंशत्समा युक्तसहस्रैः पञ्चभिर्युता ।  
 तानैरन्यैर्युता पूर्णा मूर्च्छना सप्तमी तु या ॥ ३५ ॥  
 अथाधुनोच्यते शास्त्रे स्वरसामान्यलक्षणम् ।  
 लक्षणं च श्रुतीनां हि तालानां लक्षणं ततः ॥ ३६ ॥

मात्रात्रयात्मकं सूत्रं प्रथमं सार्धमात्रिकम् ।  
 तृतीयं गुरुयुग्मेन चतुर्थं पुनरुपगतम् ॥ ३७ ॥  
 लघुत्रयं गुरुद्वन्द्वं पुनर्द्वन्द्वं स्वरो भवेत् ।  
 तालात्मकं जगत्सर्वं तालस्तु व्यापकः स्मृतः ॥ ३८ ॥

सूत्रे सूत्रे च तालः स्यात्स तालः कालसंभवः ।  
 सूच्यां तु सूचिताः सर्वे तालभेदा मुनीश्वरैः ॥ ३९ ॥

चतुःसूत्रभवस्तालो मात्राद्वयाधिकस्तिथिः । तृतीयं सूत्रं चतुर्मात्रिकप्रस्तारे तृतीयं रूपम् । चतुर्थं सूत्रं षाण्मात्रिकप्रस्तारे प्रथमम् । प्रथमसूत्रद्वयं पञ्चमात्रिकप्रस्तारे षट्त्रिंशत्तमम् । मतद्वयम् । प्रथमं मतं द्वितीयं मतं । प्रथममते पञ्चमात्रिकम् । द्वितीयमते षाण्मात्रिकम् । स्वरतालस्य पिण्डः ३३३३ संख्या २०८८४०२ । तिथितालस्य पिण्डः ३३३३३ संख्या २१३७०१६६ ।

कालो मार्गाः क्रियाङ्गानि ग्रहो जातिकलाः ।

यतिप्रस्तारकश्चेति तालप्राणा दश स्मृताः ॥ ४० ॥

प्रतिदेहं यथा प्राणास्ताले ताले तथा दश ।  
 सशब्दात्र ध्रुवा ह्येया सर्पिणी तामगामिनी ॥ ४१ ॥  
 कृष्या दक्षिणपाता ( स्या ) तपिनी स्यादधोगता ।  
 विसर्जिता बहिर्याता विक्षिप्ताकुब्जनात्मिका ॥ ४२ ॥  
 पताका तूर्वगमनात्पतिता करपातनात् ।  
 प्रमाणं स्यात्करद्वन्द्वे सार्धैकत्रिषडङ्गुलैः ॥ ४३ ॥  
 घाताक्षेपो गुह्येयः कृते घातात्करभ्रमः ।  
 ध्रुवो हस्तस्य पातः स्याच्छ्रोटिकाशब्दपूर्वकः ॥ ४४ ॥  
 शम्पा दक्षिणहस्तस्य तालो वामकरस्य च ।  
 उभयोः सन्निपातः स्याद्ध्रुवपातश्चतुर्भिः ॥ ४५ ॥  
 इति श्रीमार्गसंगीते श्रीरुद्रटमरूद्रवगुत्रविवरणं समाप्तम् ॥

Bikāner.

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SHARMA.

### SOMADEVAŚŪRI, AUTHOR OF NĪTIVĀKYĀMṚTA YAŚASTILAKACAMPŪ, ETC.

The anonymous commentary with which Somadeva's *Nītivākyaṃṛta* has been published in the *Māṇikyacandra Digambara Jainagranthamālā* (No. 21) says at the beginning that Somadeva produced this work at the instance of King Mahendrapāla of Kānyakubja. In his Hindi Introduction to this publication, Sri Nathuram PREMI discounts this story and draws attention, further, to numerous unreliable citations in the commentary and to the difficulty in chronology involved in assuming the commentator's information to be true (pp. 21-30). Thus Sri PREMI says on pp. 21-2 that Mahendrapāla ruled between A.D. 903-7 and was a patron of Rājaśekhara; Somadeva wrote his *Yaśastilakacampū* in A.D. 959; the *Nītivākyaṃṛta* was a later work, since its *Prāśasti* refers to the *Yaśastilaka* among the other works of the author; this would mean that the *Nītivākyaṃṛta* was written at least 50 or 51 years after Mahendrapāla and this militates against the commentator's story that Somadeva wrote the *Nītivākyaṃṛta* for Mahendrapāla; hence, it will be no wonder if, in fact, this information is a mere story without any basis.

Besides, it may also be said that the Lemulavāḍa grant edited in the *Bhārata Itihāsa Samśodhaka Patrikā* (XIII, 3), and reproduced by Sri PREMI in the chapter on Somadeva's *Nītivākyaṃṛta* in his Hindi book "Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa" (Pp. 90-92), shows that Somadeva was in A.D. 966, the date of the grant, still residing in the territory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-feudatory Cālukya Arikesarin III, son of Vadyaga who was the eldest son of Arikesarin II and in whose time it was, in A.D. 959, Somadeva finished his *Yaśastilaka*.

One cannot always place full reliance on the significance of the mention or otherwise of an author's other works in a colophon or a *Prāśasti* in one of his works; that is, it is not necessary to assume that because the *Prāśasti* in the *Nītivākyaṃṛta* mentions the *Yaśastilaka*, the former was written after the latter. Such would really be the fact only if scribes had not revised colophons and *Prāśastis* to the annoyance of scholars wanting to trace the chronology of an author's works. Secondly, the Mahendrapāla of Kanauj for whom, according to the anony-



mous commentator, Somadeva wrote his *Nitivākyaṃṣṭa* may be Mahendrapāla II, who, Dr. R. S. TRIPATHY says in his *History of Kanauj* (pp. 269-271), has been brought to light by the discovery of an inscription from southern Rajaputana, dated 946 A.D. Rājasekhara, who, as a Bālakavi, was patronised by Mahendrapāla I (A.D. 885-910) and who is the latest writer mentioned by Somadeva, continued to live to a grand old age of 90 years (i.e. up to about A.D. 990, the time of Yuva-rājadeva II of Tripurī), as has been shown by Mm. V. V. MIRASHI.<sup>1</sup> Supposing that Somadeva was only slightly junior to Rājasekhara and enjoyed an equally long life, his two known dates (A.D. 959—Yaśastilaka and A.D. 966, the Lemulavāda grant) cannot render improbable his acquaintance with even Mahendrapāla I.

The Lemulavāda grant mentions Somadeva's grand-preceptor as Yaśodeva of the Gauḍasaṃgha. Since in the *Yaśastilaka*, Somadeva is found to have belonged to a Devasaṃgha, Shri N. PREMI explains the 'Gauda' here as referring perhaps to the name "Golla" occurring in Sravanabelgola inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> If Gauḍasaṃgha cannot but mean a Saṃgha of Bengali provenance, is it possible to explain the reference in the grant to Somadeva as a student of the Gauḍa Saṃgha?

It is well known that Somadeva's *Yaśastilaka* is full of historical and other allusions, given in many cases through śleṣa. Once at the beginning and again in the latter part, Somadeva addresses the king as *Dharmāvaloka*.

1. अहो × × धर्मावलोकमहीपाल × ×

Ch. II, p. 196, K. M. 70, pt. 1.

2. अहो × × धर्मावलोक × ×

Ch. IV, p. 79, K. M. 70, pt. II.

The *Yaśastilaka* was written under the patronage of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-feudatory Vadyaga Cālūkyā and has many references to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas commemorating the poet's contact with those kings. Thus, on p. 281 (part I), the king is described as Vikramatūṅga and the Tuṅga-suffix is a Rāṣṭrakūṭa-characteristic. The expression 'Asamaśāhasa', occurring as the name of a warrior on p. 562, pt. I, reminds us of the same expression 'त्यगेनासमसाहसैश्च' with which the Sangli and Cambay plates describe Govinda IV. On p. 567, the king is described as 'चैवसुन्दरी-विनोदकन्दलः'; it is well known that continued marriage relationship existed between Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes and Cedi princesses and that Amoghavarṣa III and his son Kīṣṇa III who captured the throne from Govinda IV with Cedi help were both sons-in-law of the Cedi court. On p. 85 (part II) a Mantrin named *Vasuvārṣa* and a Bandin named *Subhāṣitavarṣa* are introduced; this Varṣa-ending titles are also a characteristic of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, as also of their allies and relatives, the Cedis.

Now, was there any member of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa line, the main family or the far-flung branches, who had the title of *Dharmāvaloka*? For, *Avaloka*, again is a characteristic Rāṣṭrakūṭa title-suffix. This title *Dharmāvaloka* with which Somadeva addresses the king twice was borne by a member of the Bodhgaya branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Tuṅga Dharmāvaloka, son of Kīrtirāja, son of Nanna Guṇāṃbava.<sup>3</sup> There may be some special point in Somadeva working this name into his writing and it may not be too much to assume that Somadeva, in doing so, wants to com-

1. The Chronological order of Rājasekhara's works. *Pathak Com. Vol.* pp. 365-6.

2. P. 89 of his Hindi book.

3. See *Buddhagaya*: R. MITRA, p. 195, a Bodhyaya Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription, undated, but assigned palaeographically to the 10th century A.D. by MITRA: the inscription is of the 15th year of the king who is described as the pupil of Guṇaratna.

memorate some contact of his with the Bodhgaya Rāstrakūṭa of that title. If Somadeva had stayed in those parts for sometime, he could well have been a pupil of the teachers of the Gauḍa saṁgha.

The history of the times shows frequent and intimate contacts between the Rāstrakūṭas, the Cedis and the Gūjjara Pratināras of Kanauj. Rājasekhara himself was moving between Mahodaya and Triperi. In A.D. 916, Rāstrakūṭa Indra III devastated Kanauj and in this campaign took part Narasimha, father of Arikesarin II (in whose son's time Somadeva wrote the *Yaśastilaka*).<sup>4</sup> Subsequently the Kārṇāṭa-Gūjjara relations improved to such an extent that a marriage alliance was effected. In Rājasekhara's *Karpūramanjari*, a Kuntala kīrti, named Vallabhāṭṭa, who is unmistakably a Rāstrakūṭa and is, as happily suggested by Mm. V. V. MIRASHI, Govinda IV, is introduced and his daughter is married by the hero Candapāla (Mahipala of Kanauj). In the dances described in the fourth Javani kāntara of the *Karpūramanjari* one can recognise some Kārṇāṭaka modes. The marriage alliance between the Cedis and the Rāstrakūṭas is only too well known. Such close contacts between courts necessarily bring about migrations of poets, scholars and artists from one to the other. In view of this, it may be suggested that Somadeva, a pupil of the Gauḍasaṁgha in Gauḍadeśa and one probably patronised by the Bodhgaya Rāstrakūṭas migrated to Lemulavāḍa under the Rāstrakūṭa feudatories Cālukya Arikesarin and his successors, and either touched en route Kanauj, the Cedi and the Rāstrakūṭa courts or after having come to Lemulavāḍa, had occasions to visit the above three courts. It will hence be not unlikely if his *Nītivākyāṁṭa* was written for a Mahendrapāla of Kanauj, probably Mahendrapāla II.

Madras

V. RAGHAVAN.

## A NOTE ON DR. FLEET'S 'PARIVRĀJAKA MAHĀRĀJAS'.

DR. FLEET performed valuable service to the advancement of our knowledge of ancient Indian history by writing his monumental work on the Gupta inscriptions. His patient labours deserve our sincere respect. However, it is necessary to note where he went wrong in some of his conclusions. In this short paper, I want to examine one of the errors committed by him, which is very obvious, but which, it seems, did not draw the attention of scholars that it deserves. Dr. FLEET wrongly called the feudatory family of *Mahārājas*, Hastin and Saṁkshobha, as the *Parivṛājaka Mahārājas*.<sup>5</sup> But this family must correctly be named '*Suśarma Kula*' or '*the family of Suśarma*'.

Maharaja Hastin is called 'Nripatiparivṛājaka kul-ōpanna' in his Khoh copper-plate inscriptions.<sup>6</sup> From this reference to '*nripatiparivṛājaka Kula*,' one is

4. See Pampabhārata and the Ve(Le)mulavāḍ Ins. of Arikesarin II, the Journal of the *Andhra Historical Research Society*, VI, pp. 169 ff., śloka 9.

5. Chronological order of Rājasekhara's works, *Phatak, Com. Vol.* pp. 363-4. Govinda IV was himself a son-in-law of Parāntaka Cola. On Cola-Rāstrakūṭa marriages, see A. S. Ramanatha AYYAR, *Epi. Ind.* XXVI, pp. 230-5. Govinda probably fled to Takkolam in the end. It is surprising that Somadeva's profusion does not include a reference to the killing of the Cola prince Rājāditya at Takkolam in A.D. 949 by Kṛṣṇa III and his brother-in-law Bhūtaga, a few years after which event and while Kṛṣṇa III was yet at Melpāṭi, Somadeva wrote his *Yaśastilaka*. Somadeva has however shown his acquaintance with Tamil soldiers whose characteristics are described by him on pp. 453-4, (pt. I).

1. See FLEET, '*Gupta Inscriptions*' Contents P. IV; also texts and translations p. 95 n. 1.

2. See *Ibid.* No. 21, p. 95, l. 3; No. 22, p. 102, l. 3; No. 23, p. 107, l. 3.

at first sight led to take the name of the family as '*ṇṛpatiparivrājaka Kula*'. FLEET remarked, "The word *parivrājaka* seems to have been adopted as the regular and habitual appellation of the family. At any rate, it furnishes, for distinctive purposes, a convenient and unobjectionable name for it."<sup>3</sup> But an examination of all the inscriptions of these *Mahārājas* leads us to a different conclusion. In his Khoh copper-plate inscription<sup>4</sup> *Mahārāja* Saṁkshobha of this family is called, '*ṇṛpatiparivrājaka-Suśarmanah Kul-ōtpanna*'. So the real name of the founder of this feudatory family is *Suśarman*. FLEET also knew this, as he said, "The particular kingly ascetic, from whom Hastin's family derived its origin, was *Suśarman*."<sup>5</sup> Yet he called the family '*Parivrājaka Mahārājas*'. This is wrong because, *ṇṛpatiparivrājaka* is not the real name of the founder of the family, but only his religious title. It is an epithet like *rāj-arshi*. The family must be named '*Suśarma Kula*' after the actual name of the founder, not after his religious title. This religious title has nothing to do with the real name of the family. If any other king bears the same title, how can it be, in the language of FLEET himself, 'for distinctive purposes, a convenient and unobjectionable name' for the family? The family must be called the *Suśarma* family as its founder is definitely called by that name in the Khoh copper-plate inscription of *Mahārāja* Saṁkshobha.

Even if FLEET wanted to name the family after the religious title of its founder, it ought to have been called '*ṇṛpatiparivrājaka Kula*' after the full title. But FLEET took only '*Parivrājaka*', a part of the title. This is worse than naming the family after the founder's religious epithet.

There are some more reasons why the family must not be named *Parivrājakas* or '*Parivrājaka Mahārājas*'. The term '*Parivrājaka*', meaning an ascetic, has a definite religious significance. It is generally used to refer to 'wandering religious mendicants,' or 'ascetics in the last and fourth religious order or stage of life.' So it is definitely a religious term used to refer to ascetics. That it is only a religious term is clear from the titles of heads of some religious institutions. For example, '*Parivrājakāchārya*' is used as a common title of the heads of *Kāma-Koṭi Pīṭha* in their copper-plate inscriptions. In this context we may mention the following examples. '*Paramahansa-Parivrājakāchārya*', is used as a title of *Mahādeva Sarasvatī*, head of the *Kāma-Koṭi Pīṭha*, in the time of *Vīra Naraśimhadeva*, in the latter's grant (giving two villages) to the former in *Śaka* 1429. While '*Parivrājaka*' has thus a religious significance, '*Mahārāja*' is here mixed with it by FLEET to show the feudatory status of the family. '*Mahārāja*' is thus a purely political term. How can we incongruously mix a religious term like '*Parivrājaka*'

3. *Ibid.*, Texts and Translations, p. 95, n. 1.

4. No. 25, p. 114, ll. 4-5.

5. *Ibid.*, Texts and Translations, p. 95, n. 1.

6. Of course in FLEET, *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 25, p. 114, l. 5, there is the genitive singular '*Suśarmanah*' not nominative singular, *Suśarmā*'. But the genitive form is used only in accordance with the fact that all the epithets before it like '*Chaturdāsa-vidyāsthāna-vidita paramarthasya*' etc. are in the genitive singular.

7. See T. A. Gopinatha RAO, Ed. 'Copper-plate inscriptions belonging to the Sri Saṅkaracharya of the *Kāma-Koṭi Pīṭha*' Inscr. No. II, 2nd plate, 2nd side, l. 23, p. 24; in No. III, (another grant of the same king to the same grantee) '*Paramahansa-Parivrājaka*' is used. In both the above inscriptions, actually there is *परहंस*, not '*Paramahansa*'. In No. V, 2nd pl. first side, l. 71, p. 75 (grant of a village by *Krishnadevarāya* to *Sadāśiva Sarasvatī*) *परमहंस* [प]रिवाजकाचार्य is used. (*Śaka* 1450). In the inscription of the reign of *Vijayaranga-Chokkanātha Nayanayyavāru*, dated *Śaka* 1630, (No. VIII, 1st side, lines 2-3, p. 106) "*Sri-matparamahansa Parivrājakāchārya-varya*" is used. For further references to '*Sri-matparamahansa-Parivrājakāchārya*' see Inscription No. IX (2nd Plate 2nd side, lines 36-38, pp. 118-119) which is a *firmān* by the emperor of Delhi dated *Hijra* 1088 (1710 A.D.) and also No. X (1st side, lines 13-14, p. 134) which is a grant of *Mahādevendra Sarasvatī* to a *Brāhmaṇa*, dated *Śaka* 1608.

with a political term like 'Mahārāja' and get the hybrid product 'parivrājaka Mahārāja'? Of course, we can have a compound like 'Parivrājakamahārāja' which is correct grammatically being like 'Sārdūlārāja'. But here 'rāja' is not used in a political sense to denote any political status. It is not a political term at all here. It is only a श्रेष्ठवाचक. But in 'Parivrājaka Mahārājas' FLEET definitely used 'Mahārājas' as a political term to denote the feudatory status of the family. So he formed an incongruous combination when he mixed 'Parivrājaka', a purely religious term with 'Mahārāja', a political term here, according to his own intention.

Not only is 'Parivrājaka Mahārājas' an incongruous combination, it is also not useful for distinctive purposes. It gives us an unreal and therefore wrong impression about the nature of the members of this family. The term 'Parivrājaka' with its unmistakable religious significance, when used in the name of this dynasty, leads us to think that all these Mahārājas were very pious and fit to bear the title of 'nripatiparivrājaka' like the founder. But a perusal, in detail, of all the copper-plate inscriptions shows that it is only the founder, Suśarman, who had the title and who was a royal saint in fact. None of his descendants is described as a 'nripatiparivrājaka'. There is no evidence that all of them were royal saints. Common sense also tells that all the members of a family cannot be pious in the same way. But the name of the family 'Parivrājaka Mahārājas' given by FLEET to this dynasty, makes us think apparently that all the members of this dynasty were nripatiparivrājakas, contrary to the evidence of their inscriptions. It is only Suśarman, the founder of the family who is described thus in the Khoh copper-plate inscription of Samkshobha: "... Chaturdśa-vidyāsthana vidita-Paramārthusya Kapilasy-[ai] va mahāśeṣe sarvataḥ(t) va-jñasya Bhavarājāsagotrasya nripatiparivrājaka-Suśarmanah." This description fully shows that he deserves

8. FLEET, *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. XXV, p. 114, lines 3-5.

9. FLEET translated this passage in the following way:

family of the kingly ascetic Suśarman, who had learned the whole truth of the fourteen sections of science, who was a great sage (being) indeed (an incarnation of) Kapila, who knew all the first principles (and) who was of the Bhavarāja gotra' (see FLEET *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 115)

I propose to make the following emendations to this translation. FLEET, translated 'Paramārtha' as 'the whole truth'. But generally *Parama* does not mean 'whole'. 'Paramārtha' properly means 'sublime or supreme truth', essential truth or essence. As regards 'Chaturdśavidyāsthana' FLEET translated it as 'the fourteen sections of science'. 'Vidyā' means 'Science' also, but it is more proper to translate it as 'learning' here, thus translating the whole as, 'the fourteen branches of learning'. That my translation is better can be seen if we examine what are the fourteen branches learning referred to here, and how far the term 'science' can be applied to all of them. The *Saddārtha Cintamani* quotes the following śloka from the *Vishṇupurāṇa* about the 14 branches of learning:—

(१) अज्ञानि वेदाश्चत्वारोमीमांसान्यायविस्तरः

(२) धर्मशास्त्रं पुराणञ्च विद्याख्येताश्चतुर्दशः ।

(३) .....

(४) .....

Thus the 14 branches of learning are the 4 Vedas, 6 Vedāṅgas, Purāṇa, Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya, and Dharma Śāstra. How can we translate 'Chaturdśavidyāsthāna' as 14 sections of science? Can we apply the term 'science' to the Purāṇas, Vedas, and others referred to above? The Purāṇas are especially more in the nature of encyclopedias than scientific treatises. So it is better to translate 'Chaturdśavidyāsthāna' as 'the 14 branches of learning'.

Then coming to 'Kapilasy [ai] va' it is to be noted that in the original plate given by FLEET, there is only 'kapilasyava'. FLEET modified it as 'Kapilasyava' (Kapilasya-iva). So he translated it as '(being) indeed (an incarnation of) Kapila'. But 'Kapilasyava' must be corrected as 'Kapilasyeva' (कपिलस्येव)

the title. But his descendants are not said to be *nṛpatiparivṛājaka*s like this royal saint, though Hastin is said to be a liberal donor in the following lines :--  
*'gō-sahasra-hasty-aśva-hiranyānēka bhūmi-pradēma guru-pitṛi-māṭṛi-pūātātpa-*  
*rētnāyanīa-dēva-brāhmaṇa-bhaktēna'*<sup>10</sup> and Saṁkshobha is referred to as engaged in the establishment of '*varṇāśrama-dharma*.'<sup>11</sup> Other kings in history are described as liberal donors and establishers of '*varṇāśrama-dharma*' but they were not royal saints. So also was the case with Hastin and Saṁkshobha of this dynasty.

Thus the feudatory family of Hastin and Saṁkshobha must be called '*Suśarma Kula*' or the family of Suśarman, after the *real name* of its founder. No doubt there is reference to *nṛpatiparivṛājaka*kula in the copper-plate inscriptions of Hastin. But *nṛpatiparivṛājaka* is only a religious title of the founder and it became, perhaps, a sort of nick name or second name for him. The composer of the copper-plate inscriptions being more familiar with the nick-name of the founder referred to the family as *nṛpatiparivṛājaka*kula.

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not as *Kapilasyaiva* (कपिलस्यैव) (Dr. D. R. BANDARKAR who is entrusted with the revision of FLEET's *Gupta Inscriptions* has kindly replied to me in a letter dated 18-1-43 that the correction is right). The reason is that we refer to incarnation in the case of *Vishṇu* and other Gods, not generally sages like *Kapila*. It is more proper to compare Suśarman and Kapila (as my reading tries to do) than to say that Suśarman was an incarnation of Kapila (as FLEET's modification implies). In the passage under consideration, Suśarman is compared with Kapila for his wide knowledge of philosophy. Though I must confess that unfortunately I am not in a position to get the original plates for examination and confirm my conclusion, yet it seems to be correct.

Now coming to सर्वतत्त्वज्ञस्य FLEET transcribed it as '*Sarva-tat[ti]-vajñasya*'. It is clear that in the original Plate there is सर्वतत्त्वज्ञस्य. FLEET has added additional 't' to 'tat'. This is no doubt correct. But to write 'तत्त्व' as 'तत्व' seems to be an orthographical peculiarity. Apte says (Sanskrit-English Dictionary 2nd Edn., p. 464) that sometimes 'तत्त्व' is written as 'तत्व'. As in *Sarva* (doubling of 'v'), it is an orthographical peculiarity to write 'tattva' as 'tatva', in one case doubling of 'v' and in another omission of doubling of 't' though it is incorrect. So it is better to transcribe the word as it is in the original plate, taking it as an orthographical peculiarity. As for the translation of the passage, FLEET goes equally astray. He translated 'सर्वतत्त्वज्ञस्य' as 'who knew all first principles.' But तत्त्व does not properly mean 'a first principle'. It means यथार्थ 'truth, reality etc.' Here 'तत्त्व' may be translated as '*Philosophy*' because Suśarman is said to be a सर्वतत्त्वज्ञ in comparison with Kapila, who is well-known as a philosopher, the founder of the *Sāṅkhya* system of philosophy.

So on the whole, the passage may be transcribed as follows: '*....Chatur-  
 ddaśa-vidyāsthāna-vidita-Paramārthasya Kapilasy[e] va mah-arśheḥ sarvatatva-  
 jñāsyu Bharadvāja-sagotrasya nṛpatiparivṛāka Suśarmanah Kula....*'

It may be translated as follows: '.... family of the kingly ascetic, Suśarman, of the Bharadvāja gotra, who knew all philosophy like the great sage Kapila, and who had understood the sublime truth of the fourteen branches of learning.'

10. FLEET, *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 21, ll. 5-6; No. 22, ll. 4-6; No. 23, ll. 4-5; for the same passage, in slightly modified form (using the genitive singular) see No. 25, ll. 6-7, p. 114.

11. *Ibid.* No. 25, l. 10, p. 114.

## EDITORIAL

Enquiries have come to the Editors from many quarters regarding the founding of a new periodical dedicated solely to the study of Indian Manuscripts, a sort of *Manuscriptia Indica*<sup>1</sup> parallel to the publications of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India like the *Epigraphia Indica*. In the opinion of the Editors, however, the time has not yet come to found a new periodical of the type indicated in such requests. The international situation is primarily responsible for the restraint one has to exercise on one's activities in this respect, and it is futile to expect Government to promote such activities at a time when its whole attention is concentrated on winning the war. As an alternative it has been suggested that standard journals may reserve some space for this particular feature in their regular numbers. The Editors have pleasure in announcing that arrangements have now been completed to devote particular numbers of the *New Indian Antiquary* for a series of papers which would normally be published in the proposed special journal.

The study of manuscripts naturally divides itself into several strands. The existing descriptive catalogues do not seek to bring out all the historical and literary references contained within a rare manuscript which is itself dated or from a composition of known date. For a study of Indian chronology this is very urgent, and details of this type presented from such untapped sources will enable Indology to make rapid headway in the field of chronology. Similarly a large number of unknown works, known only through reference, may come to light and ultimately enrich our acquaintance with Indian literature.

The study of manuscript transmission in India is still in its primary stage. Of the different exemplars of a given work, we have no idea of the genetic relationship; for critical editing is still in its infancy and the number of MSS utilized is still small in comparison with the Manuscript Funds preserved in and outside India in the different libraries. Bibliographies like Schuyler's have made a beginning in this direction, but an enormous amount of concentrated labour is required to make appreciable progress towards this objective. The Editors gladly welcome contributions from scholars connected with the study of the available MSS, of different works, their genetic relationship, etc., ultimately throwing light on the very nature of textual transmission in medieval India.

It will be clear to those who have worked with manuscripts that many times useful information is available about the name of the scribe, the place where the MS was transcribed, the name of the original owner and possibly subsequent owners, in addition to other important information given by

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1. Cf. Study of Manuscripts by Chintaharan CHAKRAVARTI *Kane Festschrift* p. 80.

the author himself. If all this information is collated<sup>2</sup> and studies based on such collation are published in the proposed *Manuscriptia Indica*, a great forward stride will have been taken towards the unravelling of the manner in which texts were transmitted in different localities, and a connected history of scribes may be written.

Dating of undated exemplars on palaeographic and other relevant grounds is another fascinating aspect of manuscript study ; it includes the palaeography of manuscripts and a detailed study of the various scripts utilized at different places with their variation in time will go a long way to complete the work which Bühler began in his great book. Similarly a study of writing materials in its historical setting, based entirely on manuscript and published materials is another interesting aspect.

Turning to another aspect of manuscript study there is still the great body of critically edited texts which, though insignificant when compared with the number of works still unedited, is sufficient to occupy the full labours of several scholars in cataloguing and identifying the different exemplars utilized and connecting them with remaining exemplars of the identical works in *stemmata codicum*, so that a beginning can be towards compiling a dictionary of *stemmata codicum* or in other words the Descent of Manuscripts. This will not only supply a corrective to critical editions, but ultimately lead to a co-ordination of the efforts of all scholars in establishing definite lines of descent of exemplars of a given work so far as they are available.

Indexes to rare unpublished works also form part of manuscript study and should find a prominent place in the proposed journal. Such indexes should contain lists of proper names, names of works or places, and also a *pratika* index when the work is in verse, with exact references to the manuscript.

It is not necessary to deal with all the multitudinous aspects of this very necessary and interesting study here ; such a study should form the basis of all future research in history, linguistics, literature or palaeography. In order to give a lead in this direction and lay the foundation for a future journal specially devoted to the study of Indian manuscripts the Editors and Publishers of the *New Indian Antiquary* have pleasure in announcing their readiness to devote as many as four issues per year to this special study, under the sub-title *Manuscriptia Indica*, if the demand for it is genuine and scholars are ready to contribute their share of knowledge to the general fund. This arrangement will meet a real need without actually starting a new journal, and when international conditions again return to normal, it may perhaps initiate a new movement in Indological studies necessitating the founding a new periodical by the Central Government.

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2. Such a work has been undertaken by the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona : cf. the Institute's *Calendar for the Fifth Session*, 1943, p. 17.

# TĀJU'D-DIN FĪRŌZ AND THE SYNTHESIS OF BAHMANĪ CULTURE

## [17-11-1397—22-9-1422.]

By

H. K. SHERWANI, Hyderabad, Dn.

### I

Firōz was already past middle age when he ascended the throne on 24 2-800/ 17-11-1397<sup>1</sup> and it was no doubt with the fullest sense of responsibility and provision that he set to the difficult task of trying to maintain a balance between various elements which went to make the Bahmani state. He had successfully ended the regime of Taghalchīn, the Turk, which had become an eyesore to the old nobility and gentry of the Deccan, but the fall of one man had not solved the problem especially as there was a continuous influx of foreigners from Persia and overseas, which was encouraged by the sovereign himself in order to continue the tradition formed by his father-in-law, Muhammad II, namely, that of making the Deccan one of the great centres of Islamic lore in the East, an ideal which was becoming increasingly easy owing to the decay of the rival kingdom of Delhi in the north. Possibly in order to counteract the influence of Irān and Irāq Firōz took the bold step of making the Hindu element of population shoulder the responsibilities of government and it is he who, perhaps for the first time,<sup>2</sup> gave extensive offices to the "Brahmans" who were probably the only learned element of the Hindu population. The episode of his making Narsingh of Khērlā an amir of the Bahmani kingdom after he had laid down his arms shows that he was following on the footsteps of his ancestor Bahman Shāh and trying to make friends with the Hindu aristocracy of the Deccan. He went even further, and was the first to have taken Hindu wives not only from the neighbouring states of Vijayanagar and Khērlā but from the plebeian element as well.

There are one or two other points worth mentioning in this connection. As will be seen later, there was incessant quarrel between the Vēmas of Kondavidu

#### 1. The name of Tāju'd dīn in Firōz's coins :

Silver Fanka :

*Obv.* : - Sulṭānu'l- 'Ahd wa'z-Zamān al-Wāthiq bita'idi'r-Rahmān.

*Rev.* : - Tāju'd-dunyā wa'd-dīn Firōz Shāh a's-Sulṭān.

*Rev. Margin* : Aḥsanābād, 803.

SPEIGHT, *Coins of the Bahmanī Kings, Islamic Culture*, 1935, pp. 290; plate II : Firōz's predecessor Dāwūd II reigned for 5 years and 7 months according to Ferishta and Burhānu'l-Maāshir, we may put Firōz's accession as being on 24 2-800/ 17-11-1397 which corresponds with *Bur.*'s "Ṣafar, 800" and definitely with Ṭabaqāt-i Akbar Shāhi's 24-2-800. He was over 70 when he died, and as he reigned for twentyfive lunar years he must have been more than 45 when he ascended the throne. This is according to *Bur.*, 45. Ferishta, however, alleges that Firōz was 7 at the time of Dāwūd's murder (I, 305) in 800 H which would make him a young man of 27 when he ascended the throne. But we have it from *Fer.* I 316 that he said in 809 H that as he was "very old" his son Ḥasan Khān had better marry Parthal. According to Ferishta's calculation he must have been only 36 then and this age can hardly be called "old age." I have found that here as well as in many other places Burhān is more reliable than Ferishta.

2. It is suggested that the first Bahmanī had a number of Brahman in his service headed by Gangū, but we are not aware of any evidence to prove this, and as has been mentioned elsewhere, Gangū's very name is probably a myth. See SHERWANI, Gangū Bahmanī, *Journal of Indian History*, December 1940.



and the Velamas of Nalgundā, and it is significant of the spirit that was working in the Deccan that the Velamas actually allied with Firōz against their opponents the Vēmās who, in their turn, invited the Rāya of Vijayanagar for their help. It will thus be seen that the religious sting which might be supposed to have existed in the Bahmanī-Vijayanagar relations, was already out as some of the Reddis of the East were helping the Sultān against Vijayanagar, while the Rāya of Vijayanagar was actually invading Tilangānā in much the same manner as he was marching into the Bahmanī territory. His excellent relations with the Hindus may further be surmised from the help that was given by Siddhū in quelling the rebellion of Sāgar and the bestowal of the Jāgir of Mudhōl along with eighty-four villages on his son Bhairōnsingh by the Sultān on 25-6-800/15-7-1398.<sup>3</sup> Moreover we find him making Narsingh of Khērlā an amir of the Bahmanī kingdom after he had laid down his arms, and all this shows that he was again following in the footsteps of his ancestor Bahman Shān in trying to make friends with the Hindu aristocracy of the Deccan.

Firōz was one of the most learned of Indian sovereigns and compared favourably with that erudite king, Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Ferishtā says on the authority of Mullā Dāwūd Bidri the panegyrist of the Bahmanīs of Bidar,<sup>4</sup> that the king was well-versed in the commentaries on the Qur'ān, jurisprudence, natural sciences and the technicalities of Sūfism, as well as in scholastic philosophy, Euclidian geometry, dialectics and mathematics, and took interest in these branches of learning to the extent that he set aside three days for taking regular classes in them personally either in the mornings, or, if he was busy then, in the evenings. It was no doubt due to the education he had received at the hands of his learned father-in-law, Muḥammad II, and of his preceptor Mullā Faḍlu'l-lāh Injū that he made a mark in the world of learning of his day. He was also a poet of some note and adopted 'Urūji and Firōzī as his poetic names,<sup>5</sup> and his lines, which are interspersed in Ferishtā and Burhān, show that he had drunk and drunk well at the fountain of learning. Among other public works that he undertook was the building of an observatory on the chain of hills near Daulatābād called Bālāghāt in 819/-1408 for which Syed Maḥmūd Garzūnī and Ḥakīm Ḥasan Gilānī were commissioned, but evidently the structure was never completed owing to the premature death of Ḥakīm Ḥasan Gilānī.<sup>6</sup>

His linguistic talents also knew no bounds. If we are to believe in the accounts left to us by Ferishtā he was well-versed not only in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish but also in Telugu, Canarese, Marhathi, Gujrati, Bengali and many other languages to the extent that he could carry on conversation in all these languages with those whose mother tongues they were. It is related that he had many hundred wives and concubines in his zenana belonging to various races and peoples, each with her own nationals as her maid-servants, and the Sultān freely conversed with them in their own tongues. The story is related that he had great sexual propensities even at the ripe age at which he succeeded to the throne, but he was precluded from giving vent to them owing to his strict observance of the Islāmic rule of monogamy

3. For the Reddis and their wars in Firōz's time see VENKATARAMANAYYA, *Velugōtivarivamsāvali*, pp. 18-36.

For Bhairōnsingh and his father see D. V. APTE, *Mudhōl Samsthānchya Ghōr-pādē gharānchya Itihās*, Poona, 1934, Supplement, Document 2, where an actual photograph of Firōz's document with the impression of his left hand is given.

4. *Fer.* I. 308.

5. *Fer.* I. 319.

6. *Fer.* I. 310.

Daulatābād Bālāghat, part of the range of hills running from near Vijāpūr in the extreme west of the Aurangābād district through Khuldābād and Daulatābād.

in general and strictly limited polygamy in exceptional cases.<sup>7</sup> It is possible that he was also swayed by the necessity of contracting *marriages de convenance* in order to keep an equilibrium between the conterminous elements of the population. However that may have been, he was at his wits' end how to bring into line his conduct with the letter of the Law, and he turned to his Mir Faḍlu'llāh Injū for advice. There is no doubt that Shī'ah doctrines were slowly finding their way from Irān and 'Irāq into the Deccan, and while the king was a Sunnī, it is probable that Faḍlu'llāh himself belonged to the Shī'ah denomination. He told the king that the Shī'ah doctrine allowed *mut'ah* or temporary marriages to an unlimited extent, and the only way to satisfy his conscience was that while he might remain a Sunnī in all other ways of life and prayers, he should adopt the Shī'ah doctrine of *Mut'ah*. The Sultān was, no doubt, pleased at this suggestion and eased his conscience by contracting innumerable marriages.<sup>8</sup> This great establishment of his palace was presided over by the Queen of the Deccan, Muhammad II's daughter, and consisted of women not only of many races but of many creeds as well, and it is said that the Sultān was considerate enough to read through Old and New Testaments<sup>9</sup> perhaps in order to satisfy the Jewish and Christian inmates of the harem. Hindu women there were in large number, and when the king married the daughter of the Rāya of Vijayanagar, she must have become the chief Hindu Queen of the Sultān.

Not only was the king the only one in the kingdom who was influenced by Hindu culture, but we find in the episode of the courtier Qāḍī Sirāj,<sup>10</sup> whose name indicates that he was one of those learned in Islāmic lore or at least that he belonged to a family of the 'Ulema, how much Southern Muslims had imbibed the purely Hindu tradition of art and music, and the fact that he could penetrate right into the Vijayanagar camp dressed as a Hindu faqīr without his identity being discovered, shows the freedom with which at least one section of the Muslim population must have been able to converse in the local languages. The marriage of the Sultān with Deva Rāya's daughter in 810/-1408 must have had strong cultural reactions in the Bahmanī kingdom and must have helped Fīrōz in the synthesis of cultural factors which seems to have been his great aim, and this was symbolised in his freely and courageously riding into the city of Vijayanagar and remaining as an honoured guest in the Rāya's palace for three days.

The whole of the episode of Fīrōz's harem, described with all the niceties of detail by Ferishtā, and prefaced by Mir Faḍlu'llāh's admonition, shows how much Fīrōz was influenced by factors which were slowly but surely making their appearance in the Bahmanī kingdom. While he was no doubt keen on a reconciliation with the Hindu population he was no less eager to make the Deccan the home of the best that was found in the Islamic lands of Western Asia. Every year he used to send Bahmanī ships from Goa<sup>11</sup> and Dābul in "all direction" in order to bring what was best, and specifying at the same time that the Bahmanī envoys

7. *Fer.* I. 309. It would perhaps, be an exaggeration to say that it was mainly for certain social ties that he "married Hindu women from north and south particularly from Maharashtra, Tilangana and Karnataka." See A. M. Siddiqui, *Fīrōz Shāh Bahmanī*, I. H. C. Allahabad, p. 290.

8. *Fer.* I. 306. Ferishtā is, as usual, full of exaggerations here. He says that Fīrōz cohabited with as many as 800 girls in one night, which is, of course, an impossibility. There is a remarkable passage in Rafi'udīn Shirāzī's *Tazkiratu'l-Mulūk*, Asafiyah, Tārīkh 1018 fol. 9b where he definitely mentions only one wife to Fīrōz.

9. *Fer.* I. 307.

10. *Fer.* I. 309. See below for details of this episode.

11. Goa must have been a Bahmanī possession in Fīrōz's time, or a "treaty port" of Vijayanagar, as Mahmūd Gāwān had to conquer it on behalf of Muhammad III in 1472. See SHERWANI, *Mahmūd Gāwān, the Great Bahmanī Wazīr*, pp. 137-139.

should take it to heart that the present most acceptable to him was a man of erudition. He used to say that it was his duty to collect as many men of learning and piety as possible from all lands, for then the ripest experience of the world would be at his beck and call. It was this object which made the Deccan the rendezvous of such men as Maulānā Lutfu'd-dīn Sabzwārī, Ḥakīm Ḥasan Gilānī, Syed Maḥmūd Garzūnī and many others from Irān and the shores of the Caspian. These New-comers were always welcome in his presence and he liked to mingle with these new-comers without any reserve, and while he was jealous of the Royal dignity when on the throne in order to make the people feel his power and prestige<sup>12</sup> he used to say that after the darbār he was no better than an ordinary man and there was no reason why the learned should not mix freely with him. In fact he reserved a portion of his evenings for free intercourse with poets, learned men, story tellers and others of his entourage, and the solitary etiquette they had to observe was that they should not backbite any one in his presence.<sup>13</sup>

Foreign influence was manifest in many other directions. The king had a definite leaning towards the Syeds of Kerbalā, Najaf and Medīnā, and even had the old silver throne of Bahman Shāh, which had been the Seat of State right up to the time when the Turquoise Throne was received from the Rāya of Tilangānā by Muḥammad I, broken up and the proceeds sent overseas to be distributed among the needy Syeds and men of piety.<sup>14</sup>

But as has been mentioned he counteracted this purely foreign cultural influences by the fillip he gave to associating Hindus in the administration and we see Hindu influence creeping in the general culture and architecture of the Deccan to a very large extent. It is the intermingling of the Irānian, the Hindu and the Delhi styles which has made Firōz's tomb "the most imposing sepulchre at Gulbarga,"<sup>15</sup> while the tomb (or rather the two exactly similar edifices adjacent and joined on to each other) is really single storied, it looks from outside as if it were a double storied structure, with a series of arches supporting others and with stone tracery ornamenting the upper series. We see here the Perso-Bahmani arch supported by almost pure Hindu jambs on either side of the doorways, and the brackets supporting the chhajjā remind one of the brackets in the Hindu temples of the Deccan. The stucco and cut plaster work, probably of Irānian origin, appear above the arches, in the spandrels and in the interior of the tomb. While the Tughluq tradition of sloping walls has entirely disappeared, the concave fluting in the interior of one of the domes and adorned with intricate bands of inscriptions remind one of similar bands on the Qutb Minār at Delhi. It is interesting to note that some of the stone trellises which adorn the upper series of arches have conical shaped designs covering nearly a third of the frame and these are of the same pattern as are found at the city of Firōzābād in the tombs of the last two Bahmanis at Bidar and in certain other places in the Deccan.

Firōz's tomb may be said to be the acme of his engineering skill on a small scale. But this is not the only monument that he has left for us to wonder. For

12. Firōz was the first Bahmani who designed and wore a bejewelled crown in the form of a turban; see Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad, *Tabaqāt-i Akbar Shāhi*, p. 30.

13. *Fer.* I. 306.

14. *Fer.* I. 288.

15. *Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department*, 1925-26, p. 4. Firōz's tomb is certainly very imposing but neither so imposing nor so grand as another tomb built by his successor Aḥmad I, i.e., that of the saint Ḥadrat Gēsū Darāz, about half a mile away. It is related by 'Abdu'l-Jubbār, *Mahbūbū'l-Waṭan*, p. 476, quoting Muḥarrirū'l-Qutūb that the tomb adjacent to that of Firōz is that of Shāh Kamāl Pīr.

Bidar, now the headquarters of a district in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, 17°55' N., 77°32' E.

the vast number of his permanent and temporary wives he built a large city on the banks of the Bithora a tributary of the Bhima "with wide and straight roads and fine shops and bazars" and brought the waters of the river right inside the palace,<sup>16</sup> like another and much greater monarch, the founder of Fatehpūr Sikrī, making the new city of Fīrōzābād his virtual capital. The architecture of Fīrōzābād stands by itself with "unique structural ideas" which cannot be found outside the Deccan. As Mr. Mann says in his letter to the Director of Archaeological Department, Hyderabad-Dn.,<sup>17</sup> "the main feature is the combined use of the dome and pyramid roof which I first noticed on a small scale in the small bazar within the Gulbarga fort which lies beyond the great mosque." In spite of the ravages of time which has elapsed since Fīrōz provided over the concourse of women at Fīrōzābād, we have enough of what remains to picture the glory that it must have been. The four great gates of the fort, the Diwānī Khās, the Kanchini Mahal, flanked by apartments reserved for the royal ladies, the musafir khānā the arched rooms in the zanana, the baths, the so-called kitchen and the mosque all give some idea of Fīrōz's originality in engineering. He combined the dome and the pyramid to great advantage. For instance, the roof of the so-called kitchen is composed of "one large dome flanked by four pyramids and the front is obtained by one large pyramidal flanks by two domes . . . Even the parapets are original in design, so also the small minārs which flank the corners. The roof inside is lavishly decorated with pendentives." The entrance of the mosque "is a fine example of the Bahmanī architecture." The mosque itself is 350 ft. × 200 ft., and is surrounded by an arched liwān the western end of which was once covered by domes graced with fine pendentives. The domes and the pyramids reappear, as Mr. Mann says, in the bazar near the Gulbarga gate, the chhatrī at the entrance to the Rāichūr Fort, at Yādgir and other places.

Before turning to the purely political aspects of the reign mention should be made of the arrival of the saint Hadrat Syed Muhammad Gesu Darāz to Gulbarga which had a great cultural impact on the people of the Deccan and that not without very important consequences perhaps even to the extent of the change of the capital from Gulbarga to Bidar. The saint's family was already connected with the Deccan when he arrived at Gulbargā about 805/-1401, for his father Syed Yūsuf had come to Daulatābād in the time of Muhammad Tughluq and died at Khuldābād on 5-10-731/12-7-1331. The saint himself was born at Delhi on 4-7-721/10-7-1321 and was more than eighty lunar years old when he arrived at Gulbargā from there with a host of disciples settling down in the beautiful Khānqā lying in the immediate vicinity of the great mosque of Gulbargā fort. Fīrōz was away at the time but when he returned he took care to come with his nobles and high officials and pay respects to the saint!<sup>18</sup> who had already made a mark in learned circles and who exercised a great influence over the minds of the people. He even gave a number of villages to the saint for the support of himself and his entourage.<sup>19</sup> But soon the first impressions which the saint had made on the Sultān began to doubt the purely literary worth of the saint at least so far as scientific thought was concerned. The tension increased and the king sent word to the saint that as his abode was in

16. *Fer.* I. 308.

Fīrōzābād, situated on the confluence of the Bhimā and its small tributary, the Bithōra, 17°8' N., 76°56' E.

17. Letter of Mr. MANN to the Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad Archaeological Report, 1323-24 F. I am not aware that Mr. MANN's recommendation that Fīrōzābād should be photographed and survey have been carried out.

Yadgiri, Headquarters of a taluqa in the Gulbarga district of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions; 16°46' N., 77°9' E.

18. *Fer.* I. 316. The Khānqāh has been described in *Report of the Hyd. Arch. Department*, 1347-49 F. p. 2.

19. *Bur.*, 44.

close proximity to the palace and there was always hymn singing and din of disciples going on there he should move elsewhere. Thereupon the saint betook himself to the spot, a couple of miles from the fort where his tomb now stands and which is even now regarded with great esteem and veneration by the people of the Deccan both Hindu and Muslim. This estrangement had very important political results as will be seen later.<sup>20</sup>

## II.

As has been mentioned above, on his accession to the throne Firōz created his brother Ahmad Khān Khān-i Khānān and his preceptor Mīr Faḍlu'l-lāh Injū Malik Nāib and Wakīl or Prime Minister and, perhaps in order to counteract the foreign Irānian influence as also to conciliate the Hindu population, appointed many Brahmins to posts of honour and responsibility.

Practically the whole of his fairly long reign was taken up by his struggle with the neighbouring kingdom of Vijayanagar, a struggle which was started by the Rāya of Vijayanagar himself.<sup>21</sup> It was not long after his accession early in 1398 that the coming storm had its foreboding in the rebellion of the local zemindār of Sāgar 'in the South-west, while Narsingh of Khērlā in the North also rose against the Bahmani domination and with the active help of the rulers of Māndū and Asir and at the instance of the Rāya of Vijayanagar, swept over the country as far as Mahūr.<sup>22</sup>

20. One or two small Urdu brochures on the life of this really great man have been published, but they are full of supernatural anecdotes and other matter which has yet to be established. What is wanted is an authentic and critical life of Hadrat Gēsū Darāz as it is bound to throw a considerable light on the social life of the people as well as on the politics of the country. Latterly attention has been drawn to his numerous works some of which have been published. See Ilāmid SIDDIQI, *Hadrat Gēsū Darāz*. Hyderabad; ZAHIRU'D-DIN, *Sulṭān Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī*, Ch. 2. The life of the saint was originally compiled by one of his disciples, Muḥammad 'Alī Sāmānī, but is still in manuscript and is preserved in the mausoleum Library at Gulbarga; its précis and excerpts are included in the printed edition of the saint's book, *Khatimah*, Atā Husain ed., Hyderabad, 1941. The saint was born at Delhi on 4-7-720/10-9-1320 and first came to the Deccan in 725/1324 with his father Syed Yusuf who died on 5-10-732/30-6-1332 and was buried at Khuldābād. Evidently he went back to Delhi and did not return till 805/1401. He died on 16-11-825/1-11-1422 at the advanced age of 105 lunar years.

21. For the Rāya's name see SEWELL and AIYANGAR, *Inscriptions of South India*, p. 400 SEWELL, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 152; B. S. RAO, *History of Vijayanagar*, p. 20. The question is whether this advance was made by Harihara II or on his behalf by Prince Bukkā. Also see Gurti Venkata RAO, *Bahmani-Vijayanagar Relations*, Indian History Congress, Allahabad, pp. 264 ff. SEWELL and AIYANGAR say that it was the winter season when the advance was made, but as this was followed by rains it seems that the hostilities commenced in summer not in winter. Rāyas contemporary with Firōz: Harihara II, 1377-1404; Bukkā II, 1404-1406; Dēva Rāyā, 1406-1422.

22. *For* I. 309. There seems to be a misstatement on the part of Ferishtā as the first ruler of Mandū, Dilāwār Khān Ghōrī did not declare his independence till 804/-1402. The ruler of Asir or Khāndesh in 801/-1399 was Naṣir Khān Fārūqī. Kherlā, now a village about four miles north of Bētūl in the Central Provinces, Annadeva Vēlama; *Velug*, 25 where *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* 1, 284 is referred to. Bhaironsingh, *Mudhōl*, as before.

Treaty relations of the Vēlamas with Muḥammad I, *Velug*, 21.

Capture of Pangal by Vijayanagar, *Velug*, 21 relying on South Indian Research II, 173.

Nuṣratābād-Sāgar, a town in the Gulbarga district, H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, 16°37' N., 76°48' E.

Mudgal, headquarters of a taluqa in the Rāichūr district, H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions: 16°1' N., 76°26' E.

Rājahmundry, headquarters of a sub-division of the Gōdāvarī district; 17°1' N., 81°46' E.

Pangal, hill fort in the Mahbubnagar district, H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions; the fort is still a landmark of the neighbourhood; 16°15' N., 17°8' E.

Firōz seems to have turned first to Sāgar, and after some hard fighting in which Annadēva Velama, who had been ousted by the Reddis and sought Firōz's help, as well as Siddhūji Ghōrpārē fought shoulder to shoulder with the Bahmanīs against the local chief, Siddhū being killed in the battle. The rebellion at Sāgar seems to have been quelled before 25-c.800/15-1-1398 when Siddhū's son Bhaironsingh was granted the jagir of Muḍhōl along with eighty-four villages in the district of Rāibāgh.

Firōz postponed the expedition to the North till he had dealt with Vijayanagar. Prince Bukkā had, in the meantime, led a large Vijayanagar army which comprised, among others, 80,000 archers and musketeers, crossed the Tungabhadra border, and in a fan-like movement advanced simultaneously against Mudgal, Rāichūr and other places in the Doab as well as against Tilangānā, the Andhra chiefs of which, the Velamas, had been in treaty relationship with the Bahmanīs since the time of Muḥammad I. Bukkā was, on the other hand, helped by Kātaya Vēma of Rājahmundry, and with Firōz's main army defending the Rāichūr Doab, it was not difficult for the Vijayanagar army of Tilangānā to defeat their opponents and occupy the important fort of Panḡal. The diversion at Kherlā in the north was also effective and the Sultān was obliged to send the army of Berār and Daulatābād to the North. The rains had now set in and the river Krishna was in floods, with the result that neither army dared to cross it and there was a kind of stalemate on its banks. As there seemed no way out of the difficulty, one of Firōz's retainers, an accomplished courtier, Qāḍī Sirāj by name, hit upon a ruse and offered to go with a few persons to the Vijayanagar camp in the thick of the night in order to kill the Rāya's son there, and requested the king to send four or five thousand picked cavalry immediately across the river if there was a hue and cry from the other side. Qāḍī Sirāj started with seven others disguised as beggars and madcaps and somehow reached the Vijayanagar camp. They immediately repaired to the quarter of the camp reserved for dancing girls and prostitutes and "made love to one of them."<sup>23</sup> As evening arrived they saw that the girl was bedecking herself in gold and jewels and making herself ready to go to the royal camp. Sirāj begged her to take him also as he had never seen a royal camp in his life. She, however, told him that only musicians could accompany her, at which the pseudo mendicant showed her that he could play well on the kettledrum, which pleased her so much that she not only took Sirāj with her to the royal camp but all the other men as well. The performance began with dancing, after which came an interlude consisting of music and a little farce at which Sirāj and his men officiated. When the whole party was merry-making and the Prince and his retainers thoroughly tipsy, two of Sirāj's men went ahead and stabbed the Prince<sup>24</sup> who died there and then.

There was a tremendous commotion in the Vijayanagar camp and as the night was pitch dark and the lights out Sirāj and his men could not be caught. In the meantime Firōz had two hundred large wicker baskets lined with hide and sent three or four thousand soldiers, some on horseback, others in baskets, across the river. The king himself crossed in the morning and pursued the beaten Bukkā right up to the gates of Vijayanagar, while the Khān-i Khānān and Mīr Faḍl'ul-lāh Inḡū were sent to the southern provinces of the kingdom.<sup>25</sup>

Harihara II soon laid down his arms and entered into pourparlers with Malik Nāib who had evidently come back after devastating the southern provinces. A treaty was entered into under which the Bahmanī Sultān released all the prisoners

23. The word used by Ferishtā is *Urdū* which is the Turkish for camp and is probably derived from the Latin *Ordo* meaning regular row or line.

24. *Fer.* I. 310.

25. Prince Bukkā's young son; see Sewell and Aiyangar, 206; *Fer.* I. 310.

26. *Fer.* 310; S & A. 206.

who had been captured and promised to leave Vijayanagar on condition that Harihara should pay ten lacs of Huns<sup>27</sup> into the royal treasury while the Malik Nāib was to receive a present of one lac of Huns for concluding the negotiations so successfully. The king now retraced his steps home after appointing Faulād Khān, son of Saḍdar Khān Sistānī, Governor of the Rāichūr Doab.<sup>28</sup>

It was now the turn of those who had, in a way, stabbed the Bahmanīs in the back during the last campaign. Sāgar had already been pacified and early in 802/1399 the king marched to that fortress where he received the homage of the local chiefs and Rāyas and renamed Sāgar Nuṣratābād or the City of Victory. He also received here the annual tribute from Harihara of Vijayanagar to the tune of thirty-three lacs of Tankas. It was on his return that Firōz stayed for some time on the banks of the Bīṭhōra, erecting there the city of Firōzābād<sup>29</sup> and it was only when the building operations were complete that he returned to the capital.

After remaining at Gulbarga for another two or three months Firōz proceeded to Kherlā. When he arrived at Mahūr, the local muqaddam who had been siding with Narsingh all along, begged the Sultān's pardon and having got permission to pay homage, offered tribute. The Sultān stayed at the strong citadel of Mahūr for one month and five days.<sup>30</sup> Narsingh was all alone now as the chief of Mahūr had gone over to the other side and the chief of Gondwānā did not send any help when he was approached. He thereupon marched two stages from Kherlā to give battle to the Sultān, who himself wanted to fight but was precluded by Khān-i Khānān and Injū. An ultimatum sent to Narsingh to agree to pay tribute was however refused, and the only alternative was to give battle. The king had moved from Mahūr to Ellichpūr, and the battle had to be arrayed in his absence with Fadlu'l-lāh Injū on the left and Khān-i Khānān on his right. The day was fiercely fought, and eminent Bahmanī amīrs such as Shujā'at Khān, Bahādur Khān, Dilāwar Khān and Rustam Khān were killed in the fray. It was rumoured that Khān-i Khānān had also been killed, but Injū ordered that the army should be absolutely composed and that the news should be kept entirely secret for all it was worth; instead of this he had the drums beaten that His Majesty had himself arrived from Ellichpūr with a large army. Of course Khān-i Khānān was not killed at all and soon joined hands with Injū, imprisoned Narsingh's son Kaushal Singh and forced the former to shut himself up in the citadel of Kherlā. The siege dragged on for two months at the end of which Narsingh laid down his arms and went in person to the Sultān at Ellichpūr begging him to accept tribute as his ancestors on the Gulbarga throne had accepted tribute before him. He also requested that his daughter should be taken into the royal palace as one of the "royal servants", and made a present of forty elephants, five maunds of gold and fifty maunds of silver. The king in return restored Kherlā to Narsingh, made him an amir of the kingdom and gave him robes of state including an embroidered cap.<sup>31</sup>

It was perhaps after the Kherlā campaign that Firōz led an expedition into the Telangānā where a fierce struggle was going on between the Vēlamas who were supported by the Sultān and the Vēmas who had the Rāya of Vijayanagar on their side. As a matter of fact the campaign was undertaken in reply to the help which Kāṭaya Vēma had been giving to Harihara, and now, accompanied by Annadeva

27. Ten lacs of Huns—nearly 33 lacs of Tankas which seems to have been fixed as the annual tribute from Vijayanagar for the future. It was the non-payment of this sum at regular intervals which led to so many wars.

28. *Fer.* I. 311.

29. *Bur.*, 43.

30. *Fer.* I. 310, *Bur.*, 45.

31. *Fer.* I. 311, 312.

Ellichpūr, headquarters of a district in Berar; 21°16' N., 77°33' E.

and other Vēlam chiefs the Sultān marched eastwards. One of these chiefs, Gajarāo Tippā, met the chief Kāṭaya Vēma at Gundukolam<sup>32</sup> and in all probability killed him about this time. Fīrōz's progress into the Andhrā country seems to be rather obscure, for which we are told by Ferishtā<sup>33</sup> that he took many forts on the way and actually occupied the fort of Rājahmundry, we are informed elsewhere that he could not cross the Godāvari as Kāṭaya Vēma's lieutenant Doddaya Allā or Alladi Reddi, probably with Dēva Rāya's help, proved to be too strong for the allies and defeated the Bahmanī commander 'Alī Fīrūn,<sup>34</sup> forcing Fīrōz to retrace his steps. Ferishtā, moreover, says that Tilangānā was annexed as the result of the campaign; but we read later that tribute was demanded from Tilangānā and actually paid,<sup>35</sup> and this could not have happened if the country had been annexed earlier. The truth seems to be that while the king's progress towards Rājahmundry was initially full of success he suffered a set back there and had to retrace his steps without fully subduing the local chiefs, who, however, continued to pay tribute to the royal treasury. It seems that if the Bahmanīs took possession of Tilangānā at all it must have been, at least, a precarious possession, and as will be seen, Fīrōz continued to side with one Andhra faction against the other.

A curious light is thrown on the relations of the Deccan with foreign powers and international usage of those far off days by the negotiations of the Bahmanī kingdom with the great conqueror, the ancestor of the Mughal Emperors of India, Timūr. When early in his reign Fīrōz heard that Timūr wanted to invade India and perhaps make one of his sons king of Delhi, he forestalled events and sent Mir Fadlullāh Injū's son-in-law, Amir Naqir'din Muhammad and Maulānā Fadlullāh Sabzwārī with a message and presents to Timūr by the sea route. They duly arrived at Timūr's capital Samarkand but had to wait there fully six months before they could exhibit anything they had brought. Fīrōz's message read that if Timūr thought of coming to Delhi or appoint one of his sons as king, he would himself go there and pay his respects to the new potentate. Timūr sent a farman to Fīrōz calling him his own son and allowing him to use all the paraphernalia of royalty. He also sent him valuable presents and gifted him the kingdom of the Deccan, which he already possessed, and the kingdoms of Gujarāt and Mālwa which were beyond the reach either of Timūr or of Fīrōz. The rulers of Mālwa and Khandōsh being afraid of what might happen, sent messages to the Central Asian monarch saying that they were like brothers of the king of the Deccan. They, however, sent a secret message at the same time to the Rāya of Vijayanagar saying that they were ready to offer him active help if he needed it, and it was perhaps on this assumption that the Rāya did not forward the stipulated tribute to Gulbarga. The Sultān however, did not deem the time ripe for action against Vijayanagar and it was the Rāya of Vijayanagar himself who forced a war on Fīrōz for an entirely unexpected cause.<sup>36</sup>

32. *Bur.*, 44. Vēlama-Vēma controversy and the sides, *Velug.* 24.

Gundukolam, in the Ellor Taluqa, W. Godāvari district.

33. *Fer.* I, 311, says that the Sultān captured many forts on the way and actually occupied the fort; but this seems to be one of the exaggerations on his part.

34. *S & A.*, quoting Vemagaram C.P. Grant; *Velug.* 25, relying on the poet Srinātha's Bhīmavarapurāṇam, I, 62.

35. *Fer.*, 316. As a matter of fact Tilangānā had to be reconquered in the next reign. *S & A.*, 213, say that Kondāvidu was in the hands of the Gajapatis about 1420, but it is clear that Kondāvidu did not fall under the hegemony of Orissa till the rise of Kapileshwar about 1434. See BANERJEE *History of Orissa*, I, 290.

Kondāvidū, subsequently named Murtaḍānagar, a hill fort in the Guntūr district; 16°60' N., 80°60' E.

36. *Fer.* I, 312, Timūr set out for India in April, 1398, crossed the Indus on 24-9-398 and occupied Delhi on the 17th of December of the same year.



Harihara's son Bukkā II was succeeded by his brother the young Dēva Rāya I towards the end of 1406,<sup>37</sup> who soon got entangled with a love affair which was destined to open a new chapter in the social relation between the Hindus and the Muslims. It is related by Ferishtā on the evidence of Mullā Dāwūd Bidrī that it was brought to the notice of the Rāya that a certain goldsmith<sup>38</sup> of Mudgal, in the Bahmanī territory, had a young and extremely pretty daughter, Parthāl by name, who was an adept in the art of conversation as well as in music and fine arts, and the Rāya was greatly infatuated by what was related to him. It is said that a certain Brahman pilgrim who was on his way from Benares to Vijayanagar broke his journey at the goldsmith's house, and when he heard that his host's daughter was so accomplished he wanted to see her but was told that the girl kept purdah from strangers. After much persuasion the father brought her before him and the guest was greatly impressed by the facility with which Parthāl played instrumental music before him.<sup>39</sup> On his return to Vijayanagar the Brahman related his experience at Mudgal to his friends and the news was brought to Dēva Rāya himself. He immediately commissioned the Brahman to go back to Mudgal and bring the girl and the whole family to Vijayanagar by hook or crook, even by making the excuse that it was a matter of great piety to visit the great temple of Vijayanagar. The Brahman thereupon went to Mudgal and told the parents what a fortune was in store for them when their daughter had a chance of entering the zenana of the Rāya. But Parthāl herself would have none of it and flatly refused budging an inch from Mudgal telling her parents that whichever girl entered the Rāya's palace never came out in her life-time and never saw her parents again.<sup>40</sup>

Dēva Rāya was very much incensed on hearing all this and in spite of the representations made by his friends decided to march towards the border with an army thirty thousand strong<sup>41</sup> and ordered five thousand cavalry and a large body of infantry to cross the Tungabhadra, march on Mudgal and to get hold of the girl and bring her to his capital, thus breaking the treaty which had so lately been entered into between his father and the Bahmanī Sultān. When the goldsmith and the people of Mudgal heard that a Vijayanagar army had crossed the river they preferred to leave their homes for the jungle, and not finding the prey the army had to return looting and marauding on the way. The governor of the Doāb, Faulād Khān, gave them battle and routed them in a skirmish. He then sent word to Firōzābād where the Sultān was, informing him what had happened.

It was in 809/-1407 that Firōz started southwards with a large army and accompanied by Khān-i Khānān and Injū, and crossing the two rivers, marched on to Vijayanagar. In one of the skirmishes he was wounded by an arrow which he himself pulled out of his body. When Firōz saw how well the capital had been guarded and how difficult it was to take it he created diversions in two directions, sending Khān-i Khānān to lay waste the south and the Sarnaubat Siddhū to besiege Bankāpūr, himself encamping opposite Dēva Rāya.<sup>42</sup>

Dēva Rāya now sent express messengers for help from Gujarāt, Khāndēsh and Mālwa as these states were supposed to be inimical to the kingdom of the Deccan, but to his great chagrin no help arrived. On the other hand Bankāpūr fell to sarnaubat Siddhū and Khān-i Khānān came back from the south with a large num-

37. S & A., 208.

38. Not a farmer, as in S & A., 209.

39. "Jantar and Sarmandal."

40. All this in *Fer.* I. 314.

41. *Tab.*, 411. The name of the girl is not, however, mentioned there.

42. *Fer.* I. 315, *Bur.*, 44 says that certain provinces such as "Phanur" and "Miskal" were occupied by the royal army.

ber of prisoners.<sup>43</sup> There were great rejoicings in the Sultān's camp, but as Vijayanagar was still intractable Fīrōz decided to go and besiege Adōm leaving his brother the Khān-i Khānān, who had proved his merit time and again, against the Rāyā. But when the Sultān was on the point of leaving he heard that the Rāyā had sent his envoys to enter into parolers with the chief minister Injū who forthwith presented them to the Sultān himself. The treaty which followed was more or less dictated by the Sultān and was as follows: (1) Dēva Rāyā should give his daughter in marriage to the king. (2) The Rāyā should make a present of ten lacs of Huns,<sup>44</sup> five maunds of pearls, fifty elephants and two thousand male and female slaves who should be accomplished in the arts of reading, writing, music and dancing. (3) Bankāpūr, which had already been taken by Injū, should be handed over to the Sultān as a dowry for the bride.

After these conditions had been accepted the regular contract of marriage between the Muslim Sultān and the Hindu princess was entered into, the first of its kind in the Deccan. The king was encamped seven farsakh from Vijayanagar. Old enmities were forgotten and a new and magnificent city sprang up extending between the royal camp and the capital with shops belonging to both Hindus and Muslims on either side of the road. The king's brother, Khān-i Khānān and the Prime Minister Injū were commissioned to Vijayanagar to fetch the bride and when the bride had arrived the Sultān rode in state to pay a visit to his father-in-law at his capital. The gate of the city through which the royal cavalcade was to pass was about three farsakh from the Palace, and the Rāyā had ordered velvet and cloth of gold to be spread on the ten miles of the roadway. Dēva Rāyā received his royal son-in-law at the gate of the city and the two sovereigns rode side by side while gold and silver flowers were strewn while they proceeded forward. When the magnificent company which, in a way, represented the grand spectacle of Hindu-Muslim unity, arrived at the square in the centre of the city, they were received by the Rāyā's relatives who crowded on both sides and followed them on foot to the palace.

It shows the extraordinary courage on the part of the Sultān and a complete, though only momentary, change of heart on behalf of the Rāyā, that the Sultān stayed at the latter's palace for three days and was loaded with presents on his return to his camp. When back at his camp he stayed there long enough to send for the goldsmith's daughter from Mudgal and have her married to his son Hasan Khān. The girl's parents were given most valuable presents by the king and returned to their town happy and prosperous.<sup>45</sup>

Unfortunately the peace so well decided upon by both the parties, did not last very long. Vijayanagar again defaulted in the payment of the arrears of tribute, and the Sultān, now nearing 70, laid siege to the fortress of Pāngal near Nalgunda which had been occupied by the Vijayanagar troops. The siege went on for two years during which time the Sultān successfully prevented any supplies to reach the garrison. The Vēlamās were still allied with Fīrōz, and we see Ramachandra of Dēvakunda attacking a Vijayanagar force on the way to relieve the city at the pass of Bandī and putting them to flight. The Sultān, however, began to aspire to have the hegemony of the whole of the east coast and allied himself with his erstwhile opponents, the Vēmas, in the person of Peda Kōmatī Vēma of Kondavidu, who had

43. 60,000 according to Ferishtā but this can only be an exaggeration.

44. *Bur.*, 43 says that the sum paid was 33 lacs of Tankas which were in arrears.

This amount is nearly equal to 10 lacs of Huns. There is no mention of Parthāl in *Bur.* at all.

*Farsakh*—18000 ft.; STEINGASS, *Persian English Dictionary*; 7 farsakh about 25 miles.

45. *Fer.* I, 316, where full details of the story are related.

some claims on Rajahmundry This proved to be a mistake, as Peda had to retire in the face of the superior power of Doddāya Alla.<sup>46</sup>

The Vēlamas now also turned to Vijayanagar and became Firōz's sworn enemies. During the Vēma-Vēlama conflict great cruelty was shown on both sides and more than once the skulls of adversaries killed in battle was fashioned as spittoons by the party which was successful, still as long as Peda Kōmatī Vēma "enjoyed the friendship and confidence of Firōz Shāh it was futile to contemplate an attack on him with any chance of success."

The Vēlamas made peace with Vijayanagar and Dēva Rāya now marched with a large army to relieve Pāngal. The result was almost a foregone conclusion; the garrison made a sortie simultaneously with the arrival of the Rāya, and the battle which ensued *Khān-i Khānān* was wounded and the Bahmanī army routed. Firōz incurred a personal loss by the death of his preceptor and the Prime Minister of his kingdom, Mīr Faḍlul-lāh Injū, who was murdered by one of his own Hindu servants. Dēva Rāya pursued the Bahmanī forces, destroying a number of mosques on the way, and the king did not stop till he reached the village of Ellora. The Vēlama, Anapōtā, saw his chance and harassed the flank of the retreating army, capturing Mēdak and plundering the country inhabited by the Bōyā tribe. Then he proceeded against Konḍaviḍu itself, where Pēda Kōmatī Vēma suffered defeat and perhaps lost his life.<sup>47</sup>

In desperation Firōz sent Injū's son Mīr Ghiyāsu'd-dīn to Gujarāt for help but he also returned without success for Aḥmad Shāh had just then ascended the throne of Gujarāt and made his excuses.<sup>48</sup> It was with a great effort that *Khān-i Khānān* drove the invaders back and the Deāb was freed from the Vijayanagaris.<sup>49</sup>

The last months of the year 1422 saw the end both of Dēva Rāya of Vijayanagar<sup>50</sup> who was succeeded by Bukkā III, and of Firōz who gave place to his brother Shihābuddin Aḥmad I. Firōz had appointed his son Iḥasan *Khān* crown prince in 818/1415 and allowed him to use all the emblems of royalty such as the royal cap and belt, the umbrella, the black palace curtain, elephant and the throne even to the extent of entitling him Iḥasan Shāh and had made all who counted, pay homage to him<sup>51</sup> in order that there should be no unseemly quarrel on his death-bed. Three years before this significant act a great saint had arrived at Gulbarga from Delhi in the person of Hadrat Syed Muḥammad Gēsū Darās and not only had been received by nobles and high officials at the command of the king who had come over from Firōzābād to Gulbarga but had been allowed to stay at a place just outside the western wall of Gulbarga fort and granted a number of

46. *Fer.* I. 316; *Bur.*, 47. Not Nalgonda proper as in *ẒAHIRU'D-DĪN, Sullān Aḥmad Shāh Wālī Bahmanī* (Urdu), Hyderabad-Dn., 1937, p. 35.

Pāngal is about 2 miles N. E. of Nalgunda; 17°5' N., 78°55' E.

Dewarkunda—Headquarters of a taluqa in the Nalgonda district, H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions; 17°41' N., 78°55' E.

Pēda's defeat, *Velug.*, 27, relying on E.I. xiii, p. 241; p. 241; G. Or. Mes., Lib. S/5-4-50, p. 3.

Quotation—the previous paragraph is from *Velug st.*, 28. For Orissa Campaign see R. D. BANERJEE, *History of Orissa*, I. 287.

Doddāya Alla still ruler of Rajahmundry in 1434; *Hist. Inscr. of South India*, p. 218.

47. *Velug.*, 28; *Bur.*, 46; *Fer.* I. 317.

Mēdak: a town—the district of that name H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions; 10°3' N., 78°26' E.

48. See 'Abdu'l-lāh el-Makki, *Zafaru'l-Wāliḥ*, Ed. Ross, p. 162, who says that help was promised by Gujarāt.

49. *Fer.* I. 317.

50. "Sometime before August 3", S & A., 213, relying on E.C., IV, Gu, 24 etc.

51. *Bur.*, 47. The word used is Bai' at or "contractual homage," see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I. p. 588, for its significance.

villages for his support.<sup>52</sup> The saint had already created a reputation for his piety and the influence he exercised in the minds of the people and soon had a circle of disciples at Gulbarga. As has been noted before, the king himself was a learned man of no mean merit his own standards of knowledge being fairly high, and it is said that when the saint and the king began to know each other fairly closely the latter thought that the saint might be unequalled in *Ṣūfī* love and in what was passed on to him by his forbears but was perhaps not up to the mark in scientific reasoning. Thus began the estrangement between two.

On the other hand Firōz's brother Ahmad *Khān Khānān* perhaps knew the spiritual and moral influence which the saint had come to exercise on the people of the Deccan and was not slow to take full advantage of it. He was often at the saint's *Khānqāh* and was present at his *séances* apart from being benevolent to his immediate retainers and followers.<sup>53</sup>

The rift not only between the saint and the king but also between the two brothers, namely the king and the *Khān-i Khānān*, widened on the formal appointment of Hasan *Khān* as Crown Prince. After the ceremonies were over and the nobles had paid homage to the new Crown Prince the king sent him to the saint for prayers. The saint first of all retorted that prayers were futile when all the emblems of royalty had already been bestowed on the Prince, and when he was further pressed by the royal emissaries he gave out that God had already appointed Ahmad *Khān Khānān* as Firōz's successor and it was no use whatever that he should offer any prayers for Hasan *Khān*. On hearing this Firōz was very much incensed and sent a message to the saint that as his *Khānqāh* was always full of people and was too near the palace he had better move to a place outside the city as he was disturbing his peace. On hearing this the saint moved to where his mausoleum now stands, i.e., about a couple of miles from the fort and lived there till his end at the age of 104 on 16-11-825/2-11-1422, a few weeks after Ahmad I's accession.<sup>54</sup>

Firōz was growing very old and had more or less relegated his powers in the hands of two manumitted slaves, Hūshiyār and Bēdār whom he created 'Ainu'l-Mulk after the Mahūr campaign.<sup>55</sup> They continued to remind the old king, now well over 70, that Ahmad was increasing in his popularity with all classes both owing to his inherent capability and also through the saint Syed Muḥammad's influence. They were also afraid that Ahmad was himself convinced that the saint's prophecy would come true, and he was now actively working towards that end. The two upstarts represented to the king that so long as Ahmad was alive Hasan *Khān*'s position was bound to suffer, so they advised the aged monarch to put his brother to death. Firōz was loath to kill a dear brother like Ahmad who had been his help-mate and his right hand man through the storm and stress of his early life and even during his Sultānate but, weak as he was, he was persuaded by 'Ainu'l Mulk and Nizāmu'l Mulk to blind him in order that he might not come in Hasan's way. Ahmad's nephew, Shēr *Khān*, however, got an inkling into the matter, and this faithful prince hurried to Ahmad and told him the danger which awaited him.<sup>56</sup> *Khān-i Khānān* knew that he had the saint Gēsū Darāz as his sincere friend, so he, along with his eldest son Zafar *Khān*<sup>57</sup> hurried to the saint who was very good to him, had repast with them and tore his own turban and tied half on Ahmad *Khān*'s and half on Zafar *Khān*'s head congratulating both on the future kingship.

52. *Bur.*, 43.53. *Fer.* I. 316.54. *Ibid.*55. *Bur.*, 43.56. *Bur.*, 47, 48.57. Later Sultān 'Alāu'd-din Ahmad II. See *Bur.*, 48, who definitely says that Zafar *Khān* was his eldest son. Also *Fer.* I. 318.

When Ahmad repaired home he found his friend Khalaf Hasan,<sup>58</sup> a dealer in horses from Basrah waiting for him. Ahmad told him of the danger which beset him and begged him to go home; but Khalaf Hasan would have none of it and insisted on going with Ahmad wherever he went as he said he would not leave him in adversity as he had been his friend in time of prosperity.<sup>59</sup> At last with just four hundred companions Ahmad started towards Khānāpūr where he took a vow that if he ever became a king he would rename the town Rasūlābād and endow it for the Syeds of Mecca, Medina and Karbalā.<sup>60</sup>

'Ainu'l-Mulk and Nizām'l-Mulk were very much upset and went to the old king who, however, again protested that he wished to leave his brother alone. But he was powerless to check them. They now gathered thirty elephants and twenty thousand cavalry,<sup>61</sup> and on one fine morning Ahmad found himself surrounded by a huge army marching towards him. He wanted to fly but Khalaf Hasan said that it would be shameful to leave the field without a struggle. He now had recourse to a ruse. It so happened that some banjāras and others with a few hundred head of cattle arrived at Kalyāni from Bētar.<sup>62</sup> Khalaf Hasan went to Kalyāni and purchased them all and in the dead of the night had their horns camouflaged by tying cloth on them and ordered them to be ridden by soldiers, while he put the real cavalry in front so that it seemed to the army of Gulbarga that they were all steed ridden by horsemen.<sup>63</sup> Missiles were now thrown at the elephants which formed the vanguard of the royal forces with the result that they turned tail and began to play havoc in their own ranks. Just then Ahmad appeared with a thousand cavalry which he had gathered, and the battle became a rout of the royal army. Ahmad was proclaimed king on the battle-field and now he marched on the capital.<sup>64</sup> His march was a great personal triumph, for he received homage wherever he stopped *en route*. The victorious army was met by the sick and feeble Firōz three kroh from the capital, but four of seven thousand cavalry which was brought with him, went over to Ahmad's side,<sup>65</sup> and sick and old as he was, the Sultān swooned on the field without offering battle.

It was on 5-10-825/22-9-1322 that the gates of the city were opened for Ahmad and he was taken direct to the dying king.<sup>66</sup> It was a poignant scene. The two brothers hugged each other and Firōz was all in tears. Burhānu'l-Ma'āshir relates the whole scene thus :

Ahmad : Your Majesty, I did all this for no other reason but to save my life.

58. One of the most renowned nameless persons in Indian history. Khalaf Hasan simply means *Son of Hasan*. We know his brother's name was Khumais but his name is not known at all.

59. *Bur.*, 48.

60. *Fer.* I. 318, *Bur.*, 49, says that he stayed at Nimatābād "on the banks of a river." It also says that the village of Milār was renamed Khānāpūr. I regret I have not been able to spot any of these localities.

61. *Fer.* I. 318, has three to four thousand cavalry.

62. *Fer.* I. 318, says that 200 cattle with corn and three hundred merchants had reached Kalyāni. Zahiru'd-din, Ahmad Shāh Bahmani, p. 38, says that there were about 2000 oxen, but gives no evidence in support of this remark.

Kalyāni, capital of a jagir in Bidar district, I.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions; 17°53' N., 76°57' E.

63. *Bur.*, 50.

64. *Fer.* I. 318, *Bur.*, 51 says that Hoshiyar and Bidar were killed on the battle-field, but *Fer.* I. 319 finds them back at Gulbarga.

65. *Bur.*, 51.

66. *Fer.* I. 319 says that the king was so ill that he was in bed and called his brother there, but *Bur.*, says that he was on the throne when Ahmed had arrived. Personally I think *Feristā* is right as Firōz had swooned outside Gulbarga and it is more likely that he went to bed.

Firōz: God he praised that the kingdom is going to the rightful man. It was my fault that having a brother like you I tried to give over the kingdom to a less worthy person. My last desire is that you should treat your nephew Hasan Khān with kindness as befits a man like you and regard my progeny with the love similar to that I bear for you.

Firōz now untied the sword from his buckle and girt it on Ahmad and holding him by hand seated him on the Turquoise Throne.<sup>67</sup> Firōz died within a week on 11-10-825/28-9-1322. Various stories are related about his death, but the most probable is that he died his own death as he was already sick and weak and the shock of the events of the past few days probably ended his life.<sup>68</sup> He was buried with great pomp by the new king in the stately mausoleum which he had created in his own life-time in proximity to the monuments of his ancestors.

Firōz was one of the most renowned potentates of the Gulbarga period of the Bahmanī kingdom and his reign saw the synthesis of what was to develop into the Deccan culture in time to come. He is sometimes depicted as an enemy of the Hindus, but judging from the fact that he raised his arms against Vijayanagar only when he knew that they were helping his enemies against him, shows that he was no bigot. He tried to make the southern state a protectorate of the Bahmanīs and though he was not successful, he was able to make good his claim on the Dōāb and Bankāpūr and was certainly successful in making Mahūr his dependency and marching through Tilangānā right up to Rājahmundry. It was perhaps due to his lack of foresight and prevision that he picked up a quarrel with the saint Gēsū Darāz, with dire effects, for he should have gauged the tremendous influence exercised by him over the nobles and the subjects alike. It was a political mistake he committed when he alienated his sympathies and asked him to quit the Khānqāh thus giving up all the chances of supervising the movements of his disciples and friends. Although he was old and weary when he was made to take sides against his boon companion in adversity and a good brother like Khān-i Khānān, still we cannot absolve him entirely from what he did. In the end it must be said that Firōz kept the balance between the divergent forces which were having their play in the kingdom successfully by his policy of political and social conciliation such as was not to be seen for many years to come.

67. This in *Bur.*, 52.

68. ZAHĪRUD-DĪN recounts all the stories current about Firōz's death on pp. 66-70. *Fer.* I, 319 relates the story that he was murdered at Shēr Khān's instigation. Rafi'ud-din Shirāzi says (10a) that Firōz was killed by his own personal servant, an Abyssinian, while he was reading the Qur'ān.

## MISCELLANEA

### THE SAMHITA LITERATURE OF ASTROLOGY

Prof. A. S. GOPANI's article "Satyasamhitā and Gandhiji's horoscope" in the *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, Vol. IV, part I, is creative of critical interest in the literature relating to predictive astrology (particularly in that branch of its styled *samhitā*) which unfortunately has not so far received the attention which it deserves from modern scholars. He rightly rejects the false claim of *Satyasamhitā* to antiquity on some internal evidence. There is additional evidence to show that this and other works of this category (the *Nāḍigranthas* included) cannot be so old as they claim to be. The author of the *Satyasamhitā* is said to be one Satyācārya who describes himself as "one of the many stars who shone in the court of Vikramāditya." Students of astrology know of a great astrologer of this name (Satya) who is quoted and followed as an authority by such eminent astrologers as Varāhamihira, Utpala and others. This pre-Varāhamihira Satya cannot be identified with the author of *Satyasamhitā*. He wrote his work only in Āryā metre. He does not appear to have used any other metre than this. This is proved by the numerous quotations from his work in Utpala's commentary on Varāhamihira's *Bṛhajjātaka* all of which are only in this metre. The *Satyasamhitā* is not in this metre. If *Satyasamhitā* were such an ancient work as it claims to be, how is it that there is not a single quotation from this in Utpala's commentary or for the matter of that, in any other work so far known to us and accepted as authoritative? The work of the other Satya has, on the other hand, been well known throughout. What I have said regarding this *Samhitā* applies equally well to many works of this kind which are now passing for ancient and divine works. I have been a regular student of the astrological literature for over a decade now. Never have I found any ancient work referring to this *Samhitā* or to any of the *Nāḍigranthas* which are now available. Ancient Indian astrologers studied even the works of foreigners to improve their knowledge. In fact no work of this category was known to our ancient astrologers. By the term "Samhitā" they understood that branch of astrology which deals with natural cataclysms or natural calamities and not with individual destiny, i.e., Jātaka. Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsamhitā* is an instance. The distinction must be clearly understood. The science of astrology has been divided by them into three Skandhas, Gaṇita, Samhitā and Horā (or Jātaka). There was then no work of the name of Samhitā dealing exclusively with Jātaka, i.e., individual destiny. This is a test which we can apply to works which are current as *Samhitās*.

It is clear from the above that *Satyasamhitā* is not an ancient work and that its account of its own date is as much false as that of the *Jyotiṣśāstra* of which latter I have written elsewhere (*Poona Orientalist*).

After the monumental work of S. B. DIKSHIT there has not been any historical research worth the name in our astrological literature. DIKSHIT concerned himself more with the history of astronomy than of astrology. A complete historical account of the latter is still a *desideratum*. To those who are specially interested in the Samhitā branch, I may point out *en passant* that it goes back to Vedic antiquity. The *Adbhuta* section of the *Śaṅkha Brāhmaṇa* is a Samhitā *multum in purto*. The topics dealt with here are of the same nature as those dealt with in such later works as Varāha's *Bṛhatsamhitā*.

## ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF BHAMBHAGIRI

It is a well-known fact in the annals of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan that there were several minor feudatory families ruling in Khandesh during the Yādava<sup>1</sup> period. Some of them are known by the general name Abhiras, about whom there are several traditions current in Khandesh.

Singhana, the great Yādava King, is stated to have defeated several Abhiras, one of which was a family from Bhambhāgiri. His victory over one Laxmi-Deva, the Lord of Bhambhāgiri, is mentioned in the Aizbe Inscription No. 2, of his general Kholeswara.<sup>2</sup> In the *Vrata-Khaṇḍa* of Hemādri,<sup>3</sup> the name of this prince is given as Laxmi-dhara. The defeat of the Lord of Bhambhagiri is also attributed to Singhana in the Paithan<sup>4</sup> and Purushottamapurī Plates of Yādava Rāmacandra. Even though there was no possibility of identifying the place Bhambhāgiri from the isolated mention of it in these inscriptions, Prof. (now Mahāmahōpādhyāya) V. V. MIRASHI, has recently suggested<sup>5</sup> that it is probably identical with Bhāmer a village 4 miles to the south of Nizāmpur, in the Pimpalner Tālukā of the West Khandesh District.

Whereas the identification as stated above was merely based on the fact that Khandesh has still a very large population of the Abhira (or Ahira) tribes and further because there are numerous caves in the vicinity of Bhāmer to indicate its antiquity,<sup>6</sup> it seemed certain that the proper and definite clue to this problem would only be supplied by the finding of an inscription *in situ*, in the vicinity of Bhāmer in Khandesh, which would give the name of some king from this place. That it could actually be so, is now indicated by a new inscription of this line of kings, recently discovered.

The Government Epigraphist for India has supplied me with an inked stamp-page (No. 3631 of 1936-37) of a stone inscription preserved in the Manyar's Mosque at Nandurbār in West Khandesh. A brief notice of the contents of this inscription has already been made in the *A.R., A.S.I.*, 1936-37, pp. 111-112. The object of this inscription is to record the building of a temple (*Kīrtana*) of Siddhāvara-Deva, situated near a holy place called Kotī-tīrtha (probably a Kuṇḍa in the neighbourhood of the temple), by one Govinda Dikshita, along with some other gifts. This temple, it is further stated in the record, was situated in a place called Korīṇṭaka-sthāna, which was obtained by a certain *Parāhita* (receptor) Anantadeva.

The record refers itself to the reign of Lashumi-(Laxmi)-deva, who is described as "Bhambhāgiri Mahā-Maṇḍaleśvara" and who had obtained a boon from the god Vaidyanātha, among several other *birudas*.

1. The earliest Yādava inscription in the present Khandesh is the Vāghlī inscription of Maurya Govindarāja, Saka 991, referring to the reign of Seuna (Seunachandra II) of the Early Yādava Dynasty; see *Epi. Ind.*, II, p. 225 ff., and the latest so far known is the Methi Inscription of Kṛṣṇa, Saka 1176, belonging to the Later Yādava Dynasty; see *Saṁśodhaka*, VI, p. 213 ff.

2. G. H. KHARE, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan* (in Marathi) I, p. 64 ff.

3. Sir R. G. BHANDARKAR, *Early History of the Deccan*, Appendix, p. 171.

4. *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 314 ff.

5. *Epi. Ind.*, XXV, p. 199 ff.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

7. VIDYHA-TIRTHA-KALPA of Jinaprabha Suri, refers to a great fortress called Bambhagiri, when King Permardi was ruling in the city of Kalyana. See *Nāsikya-pura-kalpa* included in the above mentioned work, p. 54; (Singhi Jain Granthamala, Shantiniketan, 1934).



This inscription is dated on the 8th day in the bright half of the month of Caitra, in Śaṃvat 1269, which date<sup>8</sup> taking the year to be Kārttikādi, regularly corresponds with Sunday, 31st March A.D. 1213.

From the *birudas* of the prince Laxmideva of this inscription it is clear that he belongs to the same house of the Ābhiras of Bhambhāgiri, described as defeated by Yādava Siṅghaṇa and as pointed above.

From the findspot of the inscription, it seems probable that the localities mentioned in it must be somewhere in the vicinity of Nandurbar where the inscription is preserved, and that the Bhambhāgiri occurring in it, could not be any far-off place, but Bhāmer, which is only 12 miles to the south of Nandurbar. This makes the identification of Bhambhāgiri with Bhāmer more certain.

From the date of the inscription it appears likely that the house of the Ābhiras of Bhambhāgiri continued to rule in Khandesh even after the defeat of Laxmidhara by Siṅghaṇa, probably under the vassalage of the Later Yādavas of Devagiri. Elsewhere<sup>9</sup> I have also tried to show that a king named Kṛṣṇa, possibly belonging to this house, is mentioned in the Śaka 1106 inscription carved on the lintel of a *maṭha* at Balsāṇē, in the vicinity of Bhāmer.

The text of the Nandurbar Inscription is reproduced here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist.

#### TEXT<sup>10</sup>

- 1 ओ । संवत् १२६९ वर्षे चैत्र सुदि ८ रवौ अश्वेष्ट श्री भंभागिरी म-
- 2 दामंदेश्वरप्रसाद प्रव(ब)ल वा(बा)हुदंड भूपकंदर्प कलिकाल नि<sup>11</sup>
- 3 अकाशतारितवैद्यनाथवरलक्ष्म श्रीमल्लभुमिदेवकल्याण<sup>12</sup>
- 4 -जयराज्ये प्रोहित<sup>13</sup> अनंतदेवेन कोरिंटक स्था(स्था)ने उपाजितं [1]\* तत्
- 5 स्था (स्था)ने कोटितीर्थसंनिधौ श्रीसिद्धेश्वरकीर्तनं ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण गां<sup>14</sup>.
- 6 ग्रीय<sup>15</sup> वेदवेदांगपारग सुत्राध्ययनसंपन्न<sup>16</sup> दीक्षित उपैआ<sup>17</sup> तस्य<sup>18</sup>
- 7 त राउल तील्हण त(त)स्य सुत पाठक लक्ष्मीधर विचारचतुर<sup>19</sup>
- 9 -जगोत्रमंडन तस्य सुत द्वादश वार्षिक दीक्षितं<sup>20</sup> गोविंद कृ<sup>21</sup>
- 10 -तुल्य तस्य माता आबुची देवकीसुल्य गंगोपमा । तया<sup>22</sup>
- 11 -कीय उपाजिते ब्रेष्येन<sup>23</sup> श्रीसिद्धेश्वरदेवकीर्तनं कृतं ॥
- 12 [तेन] निब(ब)द्ध वं टकद्वयं बाणकमेकं मस्य तिष्ठति ॥ इति.

Moreswar G. DIKSHIT

8. PILLAI, *Indian Ephemeris*, IV, p. 28.

9. Cf. *B.I.S.M. Quarterly*, XXIII, pp. 65-71. See also my article on this inscription to be published shortly in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

10. From an inked-estampage.

11. One or two letters missing.

12. One letter missing. Read "विजय—"

13. This stands for पुरोहित

14. One or two letters missing.

15. Read श्री

16. Read. "संपन्न"

17. This possibly stands for उपाध्याय if उपैआ is not personal name.

18. One letter missing, which is probably सु.

19. Two letters missing.

20. Read दीक्षितं

21. One letter missing. Read कृष्ण

22. One letter missing. Read स्वकीय

23. Read उपाजितब्रेष्येन

## REVIEWS

*Ta'rikh-i-Muzaffar Shāhi*, edited from the manuscript in the Bhola Nath Library, Ahmadābād, with an introduction, notes, an account of Sultān Muẓaffar Ḥalīm and free translation of the text in Gujarati by Mawlawī Sayyid Abū Zafar NADWĪ in collaboration with Mr. Chhotubhai R. NAYAK, and published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society as its Research Series No. 22. Persian text, p. 88; Gujarati Introduction, etc. pp. 56 + 49; 8½ × 5½, Price Rs. 1-4-0.

Founded with the object of encouraging Gujarātī language and literature, the Gujarāt Vernacular Society of Ahmadābād has already done a valuable service to the language and literature, history and culture of Gujarāt by publishing a number of works under its auspices. The *Ta'rikh-i-Muzaffar Shāhi* is being published for the first time as part of the Society's Research Publication Series.

Mawlawī Sayyid Abū Zaffar NADWĪ has prepared the Persian text from the manuscript preserved in the Bhola Nath Library of Ahmadābād, to which his attention was drawn as early as 1931 by my friend and former colleague, Professor Najib Ashraf NADWĪ. The editor could not get any other copy in India and did not apparently try to procure a photographic reproduction of the copy in the British Museum, Add. 26,279, with the object of collating the text with that in the Ms. of the Bhola Nath library.

From the verses with which the copy begins, the Ms. seems to me defective, and hence it is that there is no title of the work mentioned in the beginning. From the colophon, however, it is clear that the title of the work was known to the scribe Mr. Sūrā MEHTA. Composed in the tenth century of the Muslim Era and dedicated to Sultān Muẓaffar Ḥalīm b. Sultān Maḥmūd, the *Ta'rikh-i-Muzaffar Shāhi* has been specifically mentioned by Firāqī and the author of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī*. It is strange, however, that neither of them gives the name of its author. The author of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* merely states that it was written by 'a learned man' (*Mullā'i*). This word was misread as *Malālī* by the copyist of the lithographed edition of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī*. It was this misreading that misled the editor to assume that probably it was Malālī's composition. The fact that the author's *takhalluṣ* is clearly mentioned in the following passage was not noticed by the editor:—

”و کتبہ بی بضاعت و شکستہ بی استطاعت قاسمی، کہ از فنون فضل و کمال بی بهره

و بہ عجز و تصور مغرور و بہ قلت بضاعت مفرات، در بیان کیفیت... شروع می نماید

According to this passage the author calls himself by his nom de plume *QANT'I* (قاسمی) and throws no light whatsoever on his personal proper name. A careful search in the *Tadhkiras* of Persian poets reveals that there were two poets who distinguished themselves by this *takhalluṣ*; but neither of them could be identified with our author. From the author's own statements, however, the editor has been able to show that he was much more of a poet than a historian; that he had never before tried to write in prose, or to compose a historical work; that he composed this work at the request of his master Sultān Muẓaffar Ḥalīm, to whom he dedicates it. There is no doubt that the work is much more literary than historical, that the events of historical interest could be easily recorded in two to three pages and that a major portion of the text is occupied by quotation from poetry. The importance of the work lies, however, in that the author narrates events from his personal knowledge and experience; another point that gives importance to the

*Ta'rikh-i-Muzaffar Shāhi* is the presence in it of some details concerning the history, culture and court etiquette, customs and manners, which are nowhere mentioned in books of history. The editor has already furnished us with a list of fourteen important points of such historical, social and cultural value on pp. 6-11 of the introduction. The following points, though not as important as those pointed out by the editor, might be added to his list :—

1. On page 12 of the Persian text, there is a slight reference to the custom of tying amulets (*Ta'wīdh*) on the arm when setting out on any important errand, battle, campaign or journey.

2. On page 22 of the Persian text there is reference to the custom of partaking of *برگ و شربت* as an after-funeral ritual.

3. From the *Ta'rikh-i-Muzaffar Shāhi*, it is also clear that when Sultān Maḥmūd Khālji held a banquet in honour of the Gujarāt monarch, he employed accomplished musicians and well-versed minstrels to entertain him. This might induce one to think that Sultān Muzaffar Ḥalīm liked music.

4. In the abovementioned banquet after the drinks were finished the king's servants (i.e. *tambūldārān*), whose duty it was to serve the guests with *pān*, do so in a manner peculiarly appropriate to it, that is, in the words of the *Ta'rikh-i-Muzaffar Shāhi*

“تنبول داران خاص طبقای زر از بیره (بیره؟) برگ آراسته، بر دست گرفته  
هر کس را با برگ و نوا می ساختند”

(p. 81).

Coming to the text of the work I may state that the editor by publishing this early source-book of Gujarāt history, has certainly placed scholars under a debt of gratitude, but I am constrained to remark that he has not devoted due care and proper attention to deciding the correct text, which is replete with mistakes of incorrect and corrupt readings, which could have been easily detected. It would be a very lengthy affair if I were to point out all these mistakes of the text in this brief review. I have, therefore, prepared a separate list of such mistakes and sent it to the publishers, hoping that these might prove useful if and when a second edition is undertaken. These mistakes can be attributed partly to the bad copy on which the text is based, partly to the fact that the text is 'lithographed', and partly to the lack of care and attention on the part of the editor Mawlawī Sayyid Abū Zafar NADWĪ. It need not be stated that mistakes of this character often detract from the usefulness and value of the text and should be as far as possible avoided. The value of the edition has been further lessened by the absence of a list of contents and an Index in Persian, for the index given in Gujarātī can prove useful only to those who are acquainted with Gujarātī.

Poona

Shaikh Chānd HUSAIN.

*Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal* (From Sanskrit and Bengali Sources) by Dr. S. K. DE, M.A., D. Litt., Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Dacca. Published by S. C. Das from General Printers and Publishers Ltd., 117 Dharamatala Street, Calcutta. 1942 : Pp. iv + 535 ; Size :—6½" × 9½" ; Price Rs. 10.

The volume before us is a clear-cut and methodical presentation of the early history of *Caitanyaism* of Bengal and excludes its later developments in the 17th

and 18th centuries. Dr. DE has devoted many years of his life to a close study of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism and the present critical study covering no less than 500 pages is a ripe fruit of this study. In the words of the author "the concern in this work is more with the faith than with the movement, more with ideas and ideals than with incidents and practices." The present work makes an attempt for the first time to give a direct account of the content of the much neglected Sanskrit source with due regard to objectivity in presenting, all the earlier important works in the sphere of *Rasa-sāstra*, theology, philosophy, ritualism and literature. This is in our opinion a scientific approach to the study of *Caitanyaism*, as distinct from the standpoint of a devotee, apologist, or a partisan of the faith. We fully endorse the author's remarks: "The author's opinions are his own, to which he is entitled as the considered result of his independent study, but there is no motive to offend nor any for wilful distortion."

Apart from the reference value of the book consequent upon its encyclopædic collection of documentary evidence, it possesses a peculiar stylistic flavour, which characterises many other writings of the author. The book consists of seven chapters:—*Chapter I—The Beginnings of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism*. This chapter paints in a forceful and charming manner the historical perspective of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, which is related to the general history of Vaiṣṇavism on the one hand and on the other with the peculiar dogmas and practices developed by Caitanya and his disciples. *Chapter II—The Advent of Caitanya*. Here the author deals with the materials for a study of Caitanya's life and personality. A major part of these materials consists of contemporary records which give a historical character to the author's study, though miraculous legends and grotesquely absurd accounts have rapidly grown up even during Caitanya's life-time. *Chapter III—The Six Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana*. The author informs us that "Caitanya wrote nothing with the exception perhaps of eight Sanskrit verses which are given as *Śikṣāśataka* and which are nothing more than expressions of his simple and passionate faith." The true greatness of Caitanya lay not in scholastic eminence but in his own life and personality as an inspiring example of devotion. The laborious task of systematising the doctrines and practices of Caitanya's creed was left to his intimate disciples like Sanātana, Rūpa, Jīva, Raghunātha Dāsa, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa and Gopālabhaṭṭa, —the six Gosvāmīs who worked out and defined the whole system of tenets peculiar to Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. *Chapter IV—The Devotional Sentiments (Rasa-sāstra)*. The credit of systematising the religious emotion of Bhakti belongs to Rūpa Gosvāmī, who was not only a poet and a rhetorician but a devout scholar and ascetic. His *Bhakti-rasa-sāstra*, though it develops and refines the inherited rhetorical traditions, rests ultimately on the transcendental in personal religious experience of an emotional character. Dr. DE gives us in this chapter a lucid survey of the *Rasa-sāstra* of Caitanyaism. *Chapter V—The Theology and Philosophy of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism*. In his treatment of this topic the author displays the same ease and acumen which is characteristic of the foregoing chapter on the Devotional Sentiments. While analysis is his forte in dealing with the *Rasa-sāstra*, we find him handling with equal ease and mastery of details the somewhat abstruse study of the mystical emotional dogmatics of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism. The present chapter covering no less than 150 pages is an admirable exposition of a difficult subject and we congratulate Dr. DE on his scientific exposition, orderly presentation of facts and above all his clarity of judgment. *Chapter VI—The Ritualism and Devotional Practices of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism*. This chapter deals with the ritual and devotional practices of Caitanyaism as codified by Gopālabhaṭṭa in his exhaustive metrical compendium called the *Haribhakti-vilāsa*, containing an endless number of quotations (pp. 395-402). The second work, the authorship of which is ascribed to Gopālabhaṭṭa is the *Sat-kriyā-sāra-dīpikā*, mostly in prose with occasional

verses and dealing with Gṛhya rites. Dealing with the Ethics of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism the author observes that ethics in this theistic system is a divinely inspired institution. The merging of religion and ethics is a feature which Bengal Vaiṣṇavism shares with the general trend of Indian religious thought. *Chapter VII—The Literary Works of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.* The power and vitality of the Caitanya movement are evidenced by the vast literature which it produced in Sanskrit and Bengali, creating a new literary epoch by its fruitful contributions of great diversity and charm. This literature comprises Biographical Works, Dramatic Writings, Kāvyaś and Campūs, Stotras, Gītas and Birudas.

Such in brief are the contents of this valuable and critical volume on Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. We feel confident that this impartial account of Caitanyaism coming from the erudite pen of a Bengali scholar will be read with appreciation by students of comparative philosophy and religion all over the world and will no doubt carry the message of Caitanya beyond the confines of Bengal. For Dr. DE it has been a labour of love or Bhakti not only of Śrī Caitanya but the goddess Sarasvatī for it is aptly said :—

सरस्वत्याः प्रसादेन कविर्ब्रज्जाति यत्यदं । प्रसिद्धमप्रसिद्धं वा तत्प्रसादं च साधु च ॥

The book is dedicated to Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, the General Editor of the Critical edition of the Mahābhārata "in Friendly Remembrance." It was very much appreciated by Dr. SUKTHANKAR. It has remained a Friendly Remembrance as Dr. SUKTHANKAR is now no more !

P. K. GODE.

# THE SAMBANDHA-VIVEKA OF BHAVADEVA BHATTA\*

## (INTRODUCTION)

By

S. C. BANERJI, Dacca.

The name of Bhavadeva is well-known in Bengal. He is a great figure in the Bengal school of Smṛti, and his works are, perhaps, just as authoritative in daily rites and ceremonies of Bengal as those of Jimūtavāhana in matters of law. As a proof of the high authority exercised by Bhavadeva's works in Bengal it may be pointed out that inspite of his all-eclipsing fame Raghunandana could not throw into the background the Karmānuṣṭhānapaddhati of his predecessor, which is still referred to with reverence in connection with the ten Saṃskāras in the life of a 'Dvija'. The chief merit of Bhavadeva consists in his pioneer attempt at systematising the ritual texts. We know of no other earlier works in Bengal exactly of this type.

Our knowledge about the life and works of this great Smṛta is practically limited to the learned paper of Manomohan CHAKRAVARTI in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*<sup>1</sup>, and to the *History of Dharmasastra*<sup>2</sup> by P. V. KANE, the latter hardly adding anything new.

From the above sources we learn that besides a number of works, known only from quotations by subsequent writers, Bhavadeva wrote four books which survive even to this day some merely in MSS. These are (1) the Karmā-nuṣṭhāna-paddhati (variously called Daśakarmapaddhati, Saṃskāra paddhati, or Chāndoga-paddhati), (2) the Tautātita-mata-tilaka, (3) the Prāyascitta-nirūpaṇa,<sup>3</sup> and (4) the Sambandha-viveka. Although the Bhuvaneśvara Inscription<sup>4</sup> speaks of Bhavadeva's proficiency in Astrology, Mathematics, and other sciences, he is known in Bengal chiefly as a Smṛta, and we possess no extant works of the author on other subjects.

As in the case of most other Indian writers the usual haze of uncertainty hangs over the date and personal life of Bhavadeva. The temple of Ananta Vāsudeva in Bhuvaneśvara was erected by Bhavadeva whose identity with our author is established by the epithet "Bāla-valabhī-bhujāṅga" occurring both in the inscription and in the colophons to Bhavadeva's works. The inscription on this temple tells us that he was descended from the family of Sāvarga Muni, resident of the village Siddhala in the country of Rāḍhā.

While M. CHAKRAVARTI would place Bhavadeva in the 11th century A.D. KEILHORN would conjecture 12th century A.D. to be the probable date from the palaeography of the above Inscription. KANE also assigns him to the beginning of the 12th century.

Of the Sambandha-viveka, which must be distinguished from Śūlapāṇi's work of the same name, CHAKRAVARTI tells us nothing beyond the fact that H. P. SASTRI in his *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*<sup>5</sup> mentions a manuscript of this name, and describes it as dealing with Sapinda relationships in marriage. The present text is based on a single paper MS,<sup>6</sup> of a fragmentary nature, preserved in the Dacca

\* The remarks about the style and contents of this book are based on the Work as it is found in the Dacca University MS.

1. Vol. VIII, 1912, pp. 333-347. 2. Vol. I, pp. 301-306.

3. Also called Prāyascitta-prakarana. Pub. Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi. (See *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, by N. G. MAZUMDAR) p. 31.

4. See *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Op. cit., pp. 25-41.

5. Introduction to the *Notices* Vol. I, p. X; and p. 401. An enquiry about this unique MS. revealed that it was destroyed by fire.

6. No. 5283.



is to be noted that as an exception to the rules of prohibited degrees, Raghunandana provides that though coming within the prohibited degrees, a girl shall be marriageable if she is removed from the original stock by three Gotras, i.e. if three Gotras intervene between herself and the family from which she is descended. Bhavadeva does not make this provision. Nor does he, unlike Raghunandana, give any express rule about the prohibited relations connected with Pitṛ-bandhu and Mātṛ-bandhu, terms which he does not even mention.

In the next place it is said that a man violating the rules of prohibited relationship shall be reduced to the position of a Śūdra along with all his descendants. The punishment for marrying a girl of the same Gotra or Pravara is to the effect that, besides deserting the wife, the husband will have to observe the vow of Cāndrāyana. The daughter of one's step-mother's brother is also excluded for purposes of marriage.

The rules that follow bring a charge of feticide (Bhṛūṇa-hatyā) against the father whose daughter reaches age of puberty at his house before her marriage. Such a girl will be degraded to the position of a Śūdrā (Vṛṣālī), and the man marrying her out of greed or infatuation shall also be degraded and held in contempt (Āśrāddheya and Apāṅkteya) by the society. All these rules imply that the highest limit of marriageable age for girls is the age of puberty.

<sup>1</sup> P cannot marry a girl within the 7th degree in descent from any one of his 7 paternal ancestors F1—F7.

<sup>2</sup> P cannot marry a girl within the 5th degree in descent from any one of his mother's 5 paternal ancestors F13 to F17.

<sup>3</sup> P cannot marry a girl within the 7th degree in descent from

(i) S1, S2 or S3.

(ii) F3 to F7, ancestors of S1, already included.

(iii) Any one of the 5 persons F8 to F12, ancestors of S2 and S3.

(iv) B1, father of S3.

<sup>4</sup> P cannot marry a girl within the 5th degree in descent from

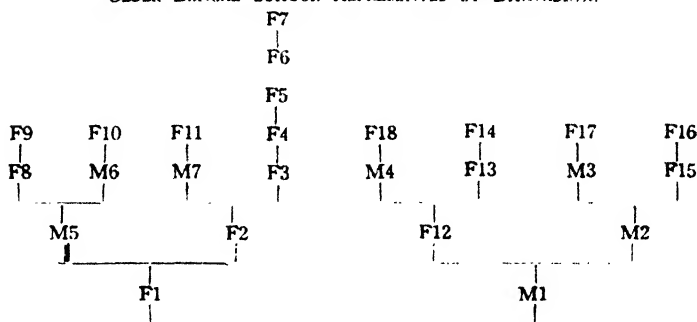
(i) S4, S5, or S6.

(ii) F14-F17, ancestors of S4, already included.

(iii) Any one of the 3 persons F18-F20, ancestors of S5 and S6, and

(iv) B2, father of S6.

#### OLDER BENGAL SCHOOL. REPRESENTED BY BHAVADEVA.



Rule 1—Same as rule 1 of Raghunandana.

Rule 2. P cannot marry a girl within the 5th degree in descent from any one of

(i) F12, F13, or F14.

(ii) F15 or F16.

(iii) F8 or F9 and from

(iv) F18.

(v) F17.

(vi) F11.

(vii) F10.



As regards the procedure of the ceremony of marriage it is laid down that when it is in progress the girl's having attained her first monthly impurity, though certainly an interruption, is no cause\* of its discontinuation. Certain purificatory rites are all that the priests are to perform in such exceptional circumstances.

The guardians of a girl in marriage are the following persons in order of preference :—

1. Father. 2. Grand-father. 3. Brother. 4. Other paternal relations (Sakulya)
5. Mother. These persons must be of sound mind (Prakṛtistha) in order to be capable of offering a girl in marriage.

Of uterine brothers, the younger cannot marry before the elder, unless, the latter is a mendicant (Sannyāsin), is afflicted with a grievous malady (Mahāroga), is living abroad, impotent, or is a great sinner. Similarly, between uterine sisters also the younger cannot be married before the elder. One contracting a marriage in violation of these rules shall have to desert the wife besides performing the vow of Prājāpatya. The wife, so deserted, however, is entitled to a maintenance from the husband.

Though, in gifts the giver generally faces the east and the recipient towards the north, yet in marriage the rule has to be modified, the giver facing the west, and the bridegroom facing the east. This brings us to the end of the work.

Although incomplete, this short work shows distinct traces of the author's originality. For example, the verse of Manu with which the book begins is explained in all its implications in the briefest possible way, and this interpretation is perhaps the easiest of all the extant elucidations of the text by writers both earlier and later than Bhavadeva. Brevity, without sacrifice of lucidity, seems to be the most outstanding feature of this work. It has nothing of the recondite and bewildering discussions indulged in by the later Nibandhakāras, which are apt to make one lose sight of the main point at issue. The language of the Saṁbandha-viveka is very simple—a fact which probably tends to prove the high antiquity of the author, because the history of the Nibandha literature is one of growing artificiality in language rendered more difficult by the free use of the terminologies and technicalities of Nyāya and Mīmāṃsā. Unlike most of the later writers on Smṛti, who busied themselves in showing off their pedantry, Bhavadeva seems to have been unassuming. His sole aim was to systematise the vast Smṛti materials into a handy compilation intelligible to the public at large.

As already pointed out, the pioneer value of his work is undeniable, and his influence on later writers is well-marked. The commentary of Kullūka on Manu V. 60<sup>11</sup> shows traces of a clever adaptation of Bhavadeva's explanation of the verse of Manu referred to above. The veteran Smṛta Raghunandana could not do away with the views of his renowned predecessor. Besides adapting his views in many places, Raghunandana refers nearly four times to Bhavadeva by name in his Udvāha-tattva,<sup>12</sup> and about ten times in the chapters of the Saṁskāra-tattva<sup>13</sup> dealing with Vivāha. Again in certain problematical matters Raghunandana cites his authority in support of his own conclusions. There are, of course, differences of opinion between these two scholars, but such cases are too few in number to deserve any notice. It should be noted that in most cases Raghunandana and his immediate predecessor in Bengal Smṛti, Śūlapāṇi, depend on exactly the same texts compiled by Bhavadeva, who, therefore, may be said to have made their task much smoother. In the absence of a complete MS. of Saṁbandha-viveka of Bhavadeva and of any dependable edition of Śūlapāṇi's work of the same name, the references by

11. N. S. Press Ed., 1933 (p. 189).

12. See Smṛti-tattva, II. 106. Ed. J. VIDYASAGARA, Cal., 1895.

13. Ibid I. 857.

Raghunandana to Vivekakṛt and Sambandha-viveka cannot be verified. Both these terms may refer to Śūlanāṣi, as well as to Bhavadeva, because, in addition to the Sambandha-viveka, the former was also the author of many other works whose names end in Viveka. At places we observe certain differences in the readings of texts adopted by Bhavadeva and the later compilers—a fact which probably indicates the existence of an older recension of these texts in Bhavadeva's time.

No account of Bhavadeva can be complete without a reference to his unique epithet "Bāla-valabhibhujāṅga" which has been puzzling the scholars for years. It has been interpreted by M. CHAKRAVARTI<sup>14</sup> as a "young serment of the turret" (Valabhī), and by KANE as a "lover of little Valabhis." While the suggestion of Chakravarti hardly makes any sense, that of Kane is not very appropriate to the literary genius of Bhavadeva who is more widely known in Bengal as a scholar than as a builder. Indeed very few of us know Bhavadeva the architect. The epithet found in the Bhuvanēśvara Inscription seems to have been borrowed from the colophons to the literary works of Bhavadeva, because it was perhaps meant to introduce by that name the scholar of Bengal outside the province where he might have been less known. Had the borrowing been in the other way, from the Inscription to the books, then the epithet would be irrelevant in the literary works of the same man. As a matter of fact a man is generally described with reference to the more wellknown aspect of his life. Bhavadeva being pre-eminently a literary figure in Bengal, his introduction to the Bengalis by a reference to his achievement as a builder of a magnificent structure outside the province would be meaningless.

The fact seems to be that 'Bāla-valabhī'<sup>15</sup> or simply 'Valabhī' (or Vaḍabhī) was a place-name whence the author derived this epithet. As pointed out by S. K. DE<sup>16</sup> and N. G. MAZUMDAR<sup>17</sup> such place-names as Vṛddhavalabhī are actually mentioned in some works. It is not infrequent with Sanskrit writers to designate themselves by the names of the families or villages to which they belong; we have, for instance, the Pāribhadriya Jimūtavāhana, the Sāhudiyaṇ Śūlapāṇi, and so forth. If Bāla-valabhī be taken in this sense, the epithet would mean "the lover of Bāla-valabhī." By taking 'bāla' as qualifying Bhujaṅga we may interpret "the young gallant of Valabhī." This interpretation may be objected to on the ground that the ancestors of Bhavadeva were residents of the village Siddhala. But it is quite possible that the author in the sixth or seventh generation migrated to the new village of Valabhī (or Bāla-valabhī). Again, Valabhī or Bāla-valabhī might have been the name of a Parganā in which Siddhala was only a small locality.<sup>18</sup>

Matters are much simplified by taking the word "Bhujaṅga" to mean the "constant companion of a prince,"<sup>19</sup> because the close association of Bhavadeva

14. *JASB*.—*Op. Cit.*

15. The suggested identification of Bāla-valabhī with the modern Bāgdi and of Siddhala with the modern Siddhangram in the district of Birbhum, though very ingenious, is problematic and lacks evidence. (See R. D. BANERJĪ, *Bāṅglā Itihās*, 3rd Edition p. 296, and *JRAS.*, 1935 pp. 97-99, 111-112).

16. *A Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies presented to Denison Ross*, p. 94. (footnote).

17. *Inscriptions of Bengal, op. cit.*, p. 31.

18. It is interesting to note that the Dacca University MS. reads Kāla for Bāla. While it may be discarded as a scribal mistake, it may also be possible that when 'Bhujaṅga' was once found the word Kāla was at once suggested to the scribe's mind. The word Kāla is very often associated with 'Bhujaṅga.' Probably the scribe wanted it to mean "the most spirited man of Valabhī." But as "Kāla-bhujaṅga" more often denotes a venomous snake, and as the word is found only in this MS. of Bhavadeva's works, it may be safely rejected as a mistake.

19. See *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* by M. WILLIAMS, p. 759, Col. 2.

20. The following colophon to a MS. of Bhavadeva's *Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati*, even though it is of doubtful authenticity being found in no other MSS. of his

with King Harivarmadeva of Bengal is wellknown from the Bhuvaneśvara Inscription referred to above.

works, seems to throw some light on the meaning of the word "Bhujaṅga" in the epithet :

श्रीबालबडभीभूजङ्गभूजाभिमतविपक्षप्रतिवैनतेयपाषण्डखण्डननागरिक्तोकवाचस्पतिशरणकेलिनी-  
लकणभट्टश्रीभवदेवविरचिता छन्दोगानां विवाहादिकर्मानुष्ठानपद्धतिः समाप्ताः ॥

[Calcutta Sanskrit College MS. No. 52. See *JASB. Op. Cit.*].

Despite the obscurity of the meaning of these lines the use of the word *Vainateya*, denoting the bird *Garuda*, the proverbial foe of serpents, side by side with "Bhujaṅga" seems to be a good proof that "Bhujaṅga" in the epithet is intended to mean a serpent. But this does not help us in making out a plausible sense of the epithet.

# THE SAURA-PURĀṆA

o'y

R. C. HAZRA, Dacca.

The present *Saura-purāṇa*,<sup>1</sup> which begins with a salutation to Pinakin (Śiva) as the highest deity, states that once some great sages Śaunala and (her), who

1. Ed. Anandāśrama Sanskrit Series, No. 18. Second Edition Poona 1924. This edition is based on nine South Indian MSS. of which four (viz. ग, घ, ङ, छ,) are dated and the rest undated, the earliest dated MS. (ग) being copied in Samvat 1645.

Beside the AnSS edition mentioned above there is another edition which has been published in Bengali characters with a Bengali translation by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta (second edition, 1316 B.S.). This edition is the same as the AnSS edition as regards the number and arrangement of chapters, the number of verses in each chapter, etc. The only remarkable difference between the two printed editions is that the Vaṅgavāsī edition incorporates in its second chapter those five verses which have been given in the footnote on p. 5 of the AnSS edition. Besides these there are a few unimportant variations in readings.

For MSS. of the present *Saura-purāṇa* see WEBER, *Berlin Catalogue*, pp. 115-119 (No. 1525). This is a complete MS. dated Samvat 1830. It consists of 65 chapters, of which the last one, dealing with 'brahmāṇḍa-goloka-varṇana' and consisting of 106 verses, does not occur in the AnSS edition mentioned above. On the other hand, chapters 38-40 and 68 of the AnSS edition do not occur in this MS. As regards the other chapters of the AnSS edition, this MS. has them in the following order :-

1-10, 14, 16, 15, 43, 11-13, 17-37, 41-42, 44-66, 67 and 69, chapters 67 and 69 of the AnSS edition constituting chapter 64 of this MS. In this MS. the work is called 'Āditya-purāṇa' in some of the chapter-colophons, the colophon of the 65th (i.e. last) chapter running thus : iti śrī-āditya-purāṇe mānaviṃśa-saṃhitāyāṃ brahmāṇḍa-goloka-varṇanaṃ nāma pañca-śaṣṭitam' dhyāyah. In the remaining chapter-colophons as well as in the body of the first and the 64th chapter the work is called 'Saura-purāṇa.'; EGGLING, *India Office Catalogue*, VI, pp. 1185-88 (No. 3337). This is a Deva-nāgarī MS. written in different hands. It consists of 64 chapters and is practically the same as chapters 1-64 of the Berlin MS. mentioned above. It contains no chapter on 'brahmāṇḍa-goloka-varṇana.' Just like the Berlin MS. this MS. also lacks chapters 38-40 and 68 of the AnSS edition and has the remaining chapters arranged in the order :

1-10, 14, 16, 15, 43, 11-13, 17-37, 41-42, 44-66, 67 and 69, chaps. 67 and 69 of the AnSS edition making up chapter 64 of this MS. also. In the chapter-colophons the work is called 'Āditya-purāṇa' 13 times 'Saura-purāṇa' 43 times, and 'Sūrya-purāṇa' 7 times, whilst one gives no title at all. In the body of the last chapter, i.e. in chap. 64, the work is however called 'Saura-purāṇa.'; R. L. MITRA, *Bikaner Catalogue*, pp. 182-3 (No. 406). This MS. consists of 65 chapters and thus seems to lack at least chaps. 38-40 of the AnSS edition. It begins and ends in the same way, and thus seems to be practically the same, as the Berlin MS. mentioned above. Just as in the Berlin MS. its last chapter deals with 'brahmāṇḍa-goloka-varṇana' and has the following colophon : iti śrī-āditya-purāṇe mānaviṃśa-saṃhitāyāṃ brahmāṇḍa-goloka-varṇanaṃ nāma pañca-śaṣṭitam' dhyāyah. Mitra does not inform us whether this MS. bears the title 'Saura-purāṇa' in any of its chapter-colophons or in the body of any of its chapters.) ; HARAPRASAD SHASTRI, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.*, ASB. V, p. 758 (No. 4095).—This is an incomplete MS. consisting of 55 chapters. SHASTRI says that it is the same as the Bikaner MS. No. 406 described by R. L. MITRA., and pp. 758-61 (No. 4096).—This is a complete MS. dated Samvat 1906. It consists of 65 chapters and thus seems to lack chaps. 38-40 of the AnSS edition. The last chapter, dealing with 'brahmāṇḍa-goloka-varṇana,' has the following colophon : iti śrī-āditya-purāṇe mānaviṃśa-saṃhitāyāṃ goloka-varṇanaṃ nāma pañca-śaṣṭitam

were all devotees of Śiva, were performing a long continued sacrifice for the pleasure of this deity in the Naimiṣa forest. In the mean time Sūta Romaharṣaṇa came there. As Sūta had been taught the Purāṇas out of affection by his teacher Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana and was consequently the best speaker on these, he was requested by the sages to narrate the *Saura-p.* which, they said, had been previously declared by Āditya (the Sun)<sup>2</sup> and was replete with devotion to Śiva, 'the lord of Pārvatī.' In accordance with this request Sūta began to narrate the *Saura-p.* with a salutation to Sūrya (the Sun). He said that once Manu, son of Sūrya, went to a forest named Kāmika, where the sages Bhṛgu and others were trying to determine the highest Truth on the occasion of a great sacrifice instituted by king Prataardana. Being unable to come to a conclusion these sages went with Manu to Dvādaśāditya, the land of the Sun, and practised severe penance there for thousand years. The Sun was pleased to appear before Manu, who then eulogised him and put to him the following questions for detailed treatment :

What is the blissful Truth that has been established in Vedānta? What is the original source of the universe, and where will the latter go after destruction? Who controls Brahmā and other gods? Is he one or many or both? Who can realise him, and what becomes of the devotee after realisation? What is the nature of his knowledge? What are his nature and exploits? Which places are sacred to him, and which residents of these holy places are favoured by him? What are the orders and characteristics of the Purāṇas and the vows (Vrata)? What are the duties of the members of the different castes, in the different stages of their life? How is Śrāddha performed, and what are the rules about penance?

Consequently, the Sun declared Śiva as the highest Truth and answered all the questions with the narration of various relevant stories on the glories of Śiva and his consort Pārvatī. It is on the basis of these answers made by the Sun to Manu that Sūta declared the present *Saura-p.* to the sages of the Naimiṣa forest. Consequently, the present *Saura-p.* deals with the following topics :—

Glorification of Śiva as the highest Truth, and of Pārvatī as his Śakti (Energy); praise of Benares with the mention of its different holy places and Śiva-līṅgas; enumeration of the evils of the Kali age; the characteristics of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas,<sup>3</sup> the titles of the eighteen principal Purāṇas,<sup>4</sup> and the results of

'dhyāyaḥ. Just as in the India Office MS., in this MS. also the work is sometimes called 'Āditya-purāṇa,' sometimes 'Saura-purāṇa,' and sometimes 'Sūryapurāṇa.' In the body of the first chapter, however, the title 'Saura' occurs.) ; *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Adyar Library*, Part I, p. 149 (the work being called both 'Āditya-p.' and 'Saura-p.') ; STEIN, *Jammie Catalogue*, p. 199 (This is an old, incomplete MS. The title of the work is given as 'Āditya-p.' by STEIN.) ; Lewis RICE, *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in Mysore and Coorg*, p. 70 (Two MSS. mentioned under the title 'Āditya-p.') ; BURNELL, *Classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS. in the Palace at Tanjore*, p. 187 (the title of the work being given as 'Āditya-p.' by Burnell) ; P. P. S. SHASTRI, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Mahārāja Serfojī's Sarasvatī Mahāl Library, Tanjore*, XV, pp. 7165-66, Nos. 10566-67 (same as Burnell's MSS).

2. In order that the present *Saura-p.* may have unquestionable authority and wide circulation, it is said to have originated from the Sun, because the Sun is 'antaryāmin' and 'sanātana' and is thus sure to divulge the real truth. (Cf. *Saura-p.* I, 11-devo 'yam bhagavān bhānur antaryāmi sanātanaḥ | yo brūte sarva-vastūnām tattvaṃ jñatvaiva nānyathā ||).

3. *Saura-p.* 9, 4-5 say : "A Purāṇa has five characteristics, viz., Creation, Re-creation, Genealogies, Manvantaras (ages of the different Manus), and History of the dynasties. *Brahma-p.* etc. are said to have these characteristics. These are also the characteristics of the Upapurāṇas because of their supplementary character."

4 Viz., *Brāhma* (divided into Samhitās and having 10000 Ślokas), *Pādma*, *Vaiṣṇava*, *Vāyaviya* (proclaimed by Vāyu), *Bhāgavata* (consisting of two Bhāgas

making gifts of these ; donations,—their classification and praise, the characteristics of proper recipients, and the results of giving different kinds of articles ; description and praise of a few Vratas, of which the Śravaṇa-dvādaśī-vrata is Vaiṣṇava and the Dūrvā-gaṇapati-vrata is Gauṇapatya, the rest being Śaiva ; persons who win Śiva's favour in no time and realise him ; the nature of Śiva-jñāna ; description of Pāsupata-yoga and the method of its practice ; various kinds of impediments to the practice of Yoga, and the means of overcoming them ; the duties of the castes and stages of life (Varṇāśrama-dharma), the duties of the twice-born, the methods of performing Śrāddha, and the duties of Vānaprastha and Yati (—all these being described with special attention to the glorification of Śiva and his worship) ; first creation of the universe by Śiva ; creation by Brahmā in the Vārāha Kalpa ; creation by Rudra born from Brahmā's forehead ; Brahmā's creation of Marici, Dakṣa and others ; the descendants of Dakṣa's daughters ; Uttānapāda's descendants ; Prahlāda's account and his descendants ; the descendants of Pulastya, Atri and Kaśyapa ; the descendants of Ikṣvāku ; the descendants of Purūṇavaś including those of Puru and Yadu ; accounts of the Manvantaras ; description of the four kinds of destruction, viz., Nitya, Naimittika, Prākṛta and Ātyantika ; narration of some of the exploits of Śiva ; description of the method of Śiva-worship as it was narrated by Nandikeśvara to Sanatkumāra ; the results of the construction of Śiva-temples with different materials or of their extension, repairing, white-washing, sweeping, decoration etc. ; the nature of Śiva's own self as explained by himself as well as by the gods who went to see Śiva on the Mandara mountain ; description of the Pāsupata-vrata ; the glories of Śiva and his worship especially in the Liṅga form ; glories of Pārvatī who is said to have been incarnated as Durgā, Satī, Kālīkā, Caṇḍī etc. for the establishment of Dharma and the extermination of the demons ; glorification of Devī-worship, including the description and praise of the Ulkā-navamī-vrata ; necessity and method of determination of proper Tithis for various Vedic rites and vows ; definition of Dharma, and the enumeration of the different kinds of sins and crimes (including denouncement of Śiva and Pārvatī) and the requisite ways of purification, viz., penances, punishments, and Śiva-worship on different Tithis ; eloquent praise of Bhakti-yoga ; glorification of the five-syllabled Mantra (namaḥ śivāya) and the Bilva tree ; Śiva-worship with different kinds of flowers, incense etc. and its result ; origin of Śiva-liṅga ; glorification of the different Śiva-liṅgas and the different holy places where these Liṅgas are to be found.

In connection with these topics various stories have been introduced in this Purāṇa for the effective glorification of Śiva and Pārvatī ; viz., how Sudyumna, who was a sinful and god-hating Fowler named Suvyādi in his previous birth, became the son of king Indradyumna with his capital at Pratiṣṭhānapura on the bank of the Gaṅges, only by virtue of unconsciously uttering the name 'Hara' while shouting 'āhara' (collect, take), 'prahara' (strike) etc. in course of his plunderings as a Fowler (*Saura-p.* 3, 14f.) ; how, after visiting Sudyumna, the sage Tṛṇabindu consecrated a Śiva-liṅga in his hermitage at Jāleśvara on the bank of the Narmadā and set out to visit the holy places (*Saura-p.* 4, 1f.) ; how Vyāsa approached Sanatkumāra on the Himalayas for a remedy for the bad effects of the Kali age, and how, being advised by the latter he visited the different holy places and Liṅgas at Benares and eulogised Gaurī, with the result that he was blessed with unswerving devotion (avyabhicāriṇī bhakti) to Śiva and realised his true self (*Saura-p.*

or parts), *Bhaviṣya* (consisting of four Parvans), *Nāradya*, *Agneya*, *Mārhaṇḍeya*, *Brahmaivarta*, *Liṅga* (having two Bhāgas or parts), *Skānda* (very extensive and consisting of eight Khandas), *Vāmana*, *Kaurma* (consisting of two Bhāgas or parts), *Mātsya*, *Gāruḍa*, and *Brahmaṇḍa* (consisting of two Bhāgas or parts).—*Saura-p.* 9, 6-12.

chaps. 4f.) ; how Dakṣa, who disregarded Śiva and Gaurī in spite of the advice of Brahmā and Dadhici and had his sacrifice destroyed by Virabhadra and Bhadrakālī, went over to Benares and established the Dakṣeśvara Līṅga (*Saura-p.* 7, 8f) ; Brahmā's entrance into Viṣṇu's body in order to see whether the latter comprised the whole universe, and his exit through the lotus in Viṣṇu's navel, thus coming to be known as Padma-yoni ; Viṣṇu's praise of Śiva as omnipresent, omniscient and omnipotent, Brahmā's attainment of divine eyes through Viṣṇu's favour for the realisation of Śiva, and Śiva's granting of a boon to Brahmā that he would become the latter's son (*Saura-p.*, chap. 24) ; how Suśīla, a grandson of king Pṛthu, went to Dharmavana in the Himalayas and met a great Pāśupata ascetic named Śvetāśvatara who admitted him into the Pāśupata order and taught him Yoga (*Saura-p.* 27, 12-30) ; the killing of Hiranyakaśipu and Hiranyākṣa by the Man-lion and the Boar respectively, and Prahlāda's fight with Viṣṇu ; Andhaka's fight with Śiva and his ultimate appointment as a Gaṇa (attendant) with the name of Bhṛṅgi (chap. 29) ; how Viśruta, a descendant of Yadu, met Urvaśī on the bank of the Yamunā, enjoyed her company for one thousand years, and returned home in spite of Urvaśī's request to stay with her, how being advised by his pious wife to atone for the sin he went to the Himalayas, snatched away for Urvaśī a garland from a Gandharva, went with it to the Mānasa lake according to the advice of Nārada, gave it to Urvaśī and enjoyed her company for a century, and how Urvaśī made her own body ugly with old age and sent Viśruta back to his own kingdom (chap. 31) ; how Sivi, who was the Indra in the Tāmasa Manvantara, learnt the glories of Śiva from Brhaspati and became a Gaṇapati by Śiva-worship (chap. 32) ; the origin of Tripura (a collection of three cities of the demons Vidyumālī, Tārakākṣa and Kamalākṣa), the delusion of its inhabitants by an illusive figure (māyin) born of Viṣṇu, and its destruction by Śiva mounted on a divine chariot (chaps. 34-35) ; attainment of Gaṇapatya by Upamanyu who was mortified at the offer, made by his poor mother, of a mixture of water and powdered rice in stead of milk (chap. 36) ; the killing of the demon Jalandhara by Śiva by means of a Cakra (disc) named Sudarśana painted by the latter on water (chap. 37) ; Viṣṇu's austerity for Śiva's favour at the defeat of the gods in a war with the demons, and Śiva's confer of the Sudarśana-cakra along with unswerving devotion to himself (chap. 41) ; how Sāvitṛī and her husband rendered service to Śiva and his temple in their former births and were endowed with conjugal happiness and fortune ; how Duṣṣaha, son of a Śūdra on the wife of a Brahmin (named Somaśarman) of Avanti, entered a Śiva-temple with the intention of stealing and kept a lamp burning there for the purpose, how he was caught by the city-guards and beaten to death, how he became the king of Gāndhāra in his next birth and worshipped the Śiva-līṅga that he received along with the kingdom, and how, after death, he was born as Vaiśravaṇa, the lord of the Yakṣas, and eulogised Śiva (chap. 47) ; the story of Sudevī (the chief queen of Naravarman, king of Pañcāla), who, being asked by the priest Gālava as to why she rendered whole-hearted service to the temple of Śiva, narrated how, in her previous birth as a female vulture, she went to the Kiṣkindhā mountain and swept the dust near the Kha-līṅga of Śiva by means of the wind of her wings while trying to take the offering made there, and how, after death, she was born as the daughter of Vasu and married to king Naravarman (chap. 48) ; how, at the prayer of Indra who had been driven away from his kingdom of heaven by the demon Raktāsura, Pārvatī manifested herself in a wonderful female form furnished with three eyes and twenty hands and mounted on a lion, and killed the demon Raktāsura, with the result that his terrified followers took to their heels, became Nagnas, Nirgrantha, Pākhaṇḍas, Kṣapaṇakas and Arhats (i.e. Buddhists, Jains and other heretical sectaries) in order to save their life and began to decry Śiva and the Vedas with vengeance (chap. 49) ; Indra's re-occupation of the kingdom of heaven after Raktāsura's death, his request to the sages to describe the method

of the worship of Pārvati, and the latter's glorification of Devi-worship with the description and praise of a vow called *Ulkā-navamī* which is to be performed on the *Āśvina-sukla-navamī* (chap. 50) ; Sati's rebirth as Kālī, the daughter of Himālaya, her austerities for getting Siva as her husband, the appointment of Kāma by the gods to create passion in Siva's mind, the burning of Kāma to ashes, Kālī's eulogy of Siva so that the latter is pleased to grant the desired boon and revive Kāma in a formless state, Kālī's marriage with Siva, the birth of Skanda, Skanda's fight with Indra and his appointment as the commander of the army of gods (chaps. 53-63) ; the story of Vasuśruta (son of Satyadhvaja of Ujjayinī), who, though undutiful and extremely tyrannical, rendered whole-hearted service to Mālākālā and was, after death, snatched away from the servants of Yama and taken to the region of Siva (Siva-pura) by the latter's attendants (chap. 64) ; the story of the sage Sveta whom Siva saved from the clutches of Yama by killing the latter and gave the position of a Gaṇapati (chap. 69).

Besides these, in chaps. 38-40 the present *Saura-p.* contains very interesting stories concocted for the denouncement of the system of Madhuśārṇya which was gaining ground to the great disadvantage of the Siva-worshippers (called 'Saivas'). The contents of these three chapters are as follows :—

During the reign of a pious king named Pratardana the Vaiṣṇavas, who had already grown in number as a result of boons granted to Viṣṇu by Siva, were tolerant of Śaivism, lived peacefully with the 'Saivas' and followed the directions of the Vedas in all their activities, with the result that the ancestors of these Vaiṣṇavas and 'Saivas' were all liberated from hells and Yama was thrown out of employment. At the prayer of Yama the gods sent, according to the advice of Brhaspati, a Kimpnara in the guise of a Vaiṣṇava to spread hatred towards Siva among the Vaiṣṇavas and others. This Kimpnara began his activities, and his influence was increased by the advent of Kālī, the result being that the hells were again crowded by new sinners. The activities of the Kimpnara mortified Viṣṇu so much so that his face was covered with blood ; Viṣṇu went with Lakṣmī to the Kailāsa mountain and pacified Siva, his master ; Siva, with Viṣṇu, Brahmā and others, went to see Pratardana, who, in the mean time, discovered the real identity of the Kimpnara and killed him with all his followers. Brahmā then narrated how in future Madhuśārman, a Brahmin bastard (i.e. a Brahmin widow's son by a Brahmin) of Andhra in the Dākṣiṇātya, would become a student of Padmapāduka, a scholar versed in the Advaita philosophy of the Vedānta ; how, for his violation of the directions of Dharmaśāstra, this Madhuśārman would be cursed by his teacher to be versed only in *prima facie* argument (*pūrva-pakṣa*) ; how he would decry Siva, Śaivism and the Advaita philosophy of the Vedānta and preach the Dvaita philosophy and the non-Vedic rites and customs in Drāviḍa, Karmāṭa, Tilaṅga and even Āryāvarta ; how his followers (who are called 'bastards'—*jārajāh*, and 'Left-hand Śāktas in disguise'—*prachannāh kaulikāh*) would multiply in number, lead immoral lives, convert Mlecchas and outcast Sūdras to their faith, and gradually spread into the northern countries with the increase of the sinners in the Kālī age. Being questioned by the sages as to why some people preached Siva as superior to Viṣṇu, some preached the opposite, while some regarded these two gods as equal, and what should be the right attitude, Sūta glorified Siva as the highest deity and explained the unfavourable attitude of some people towards Siva in the following way. After Madana had been burnt to ashes by Siva, his enraged wife Rati called together her husband's friends Vasanta (also called 'Madhu') and others and urged them to decry Siva in order that he might not be worshipped by the people. Consequently, Vasanta and others practised severe penance and met Brahmā who granted a boon that they would be able to decry Siva not at that time but in future. Kālī then encouraged Vasanta saying that with his advent Vasanta would be born as a Brahmin bastard named Madhuśārman, read all the



Sāstras with a Vedāntist teacher named Padmapādūka, be cursed by his teacher to be versed only in *pūrva-pakṣa* (*prima facie* argument), write a commentary on the *Vādarāyaṇa-sūtras*, and pollute Karmāta, Tilanga etc. by his preachings. Vasanta and his associates then returned to Rati and communicated to her the news of their future activities.

From what has been said above regarding the contents of the present *Saura-p.* it is evident that this Purāṇa is primarily meant for the glorification of Śiva (also called Paśupati, Maheśvara etc.) and his consort Pārvatī (who is identified with Satī, Kālī, Durgā, Caṇḍī etc.). Herein Śiva is called the highest deity and the final Truth. He is said to have pervaded the whole universe; he is the soul of all beings, and, with Pārvatī, is their consciousness; though one, he appears as many in the forms of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra and others; he is inexpressible and inconceivable; he is the Ātman and the Brahma, and is 'akṣara', 'nirguṇa', 'ādi-madhyāntahina' and 'ānanda-rūpa'; nothing exists beyond him, and he is beyond all nescience (*tamasah parah*).<sup>5</sup> Pārvatī, the daughter of Himālaya, is Śiva's imperishable Energy (*avyayā śakti*); she is called 'nityā', 'ādi-madhyānta-rahitā', 'nityānandā' etc.; she is Śiva's Māyā and is inseparably connected with him just as the power of burning is connected with fire; with her he creates, protects and destroys the universe.<sup>6</sup> This Purāṇa attaches great importance to Śiva-bhakti (devotion to Śiva) which is said to bring about the realisation of the god. It classifies Bhakti (devotion) into eight kinds and says that no bliss or final release is possible without devotion to Śiva, and it is only by unswerving devotion (with its resultant *jñāna*) that Śiva may be realised.<sup>7</sup> The devotees of Śiva also are highly glorified. Their sight, and conversation with them are said to be highly meritorious and sanctifying. People are advised to respect the devotees of Śiva without any consideration of their castes or personal attainments.<sup>8</sup> Those who decry Śiva are doomed to hell.<sup>9</sup> Of the different kinds of Dharma (religious duty), Śiva-dharma is given the highest position. It is called imperishable (*akṣaya*) and eternal (*sanātana*) and is said to be able to destroy all sin that one may acquire in thousands of one's births.<sup>10</sup>

Before we proceed to discuss the date of the present *Saura-p.*, we should say a few words here on the arrangement of the chapters in the AnSS edition which is the basis of our present analysis, so that we may find out the interpolated chapters without any difficulty. At the very beginning of chap. 9 the sages request Sūta to deal exhaustively with the following topics, viz., (1) the characteristics of Purāṇas and the results of making gifts of these, (2) donations of other things, (3) vows (*Vrata*), (4) duties of the castes and stages of life (*Varnāśramadharma*), (5) method of performing *Śrāddha*, and (6) *Prāyaścitta* (penance). In accordance with this request Sūta deals with the Purāṇas and donations (i.e. topics 1 and 2) in chaps. 9 and 10 respectively. The third topic (viz., that of vows) points to chaps. 14-16 and 43 which deal with the following vows: *Kṛṣṇaṣṭamī*, *Śravaṇa-dvādaśī*, *Anaṅga-trayodaśī*, *Umā-maheśvara*, *Sūla* and *Dūrvā-gaṇapati*. That chap. 43 must be followed immediately by chaps. 11-13 is shown by the facts that it is in this chapter (43) that *Īśvara* (i.e. Śiva), who speaks to Skanda in chaps. 11-13, is introduced as answering the questions asked by the latter, and that at the end of chap. 43 *Īśvara* asks Skanda what more the latter wants to hear, thus making provision for the introduction of chaps. 11-13. The fourth and fifth topics (viz., those of *Varnāśramadharma* and *Śrāddha*) point to chaps. 17-20; and

5. See *Saura-p.* 2, 2-7 and 43-50; 11, 29-37; 21, 32f.; 22, 6-8; 23, 45-46; 24, 34-35; 29, 31; 57, 27; etc.

6. *Saura-p.* 2, 16-18; 7, 20; 24, 29 and 37; 25, 2-3; 54, 6-9 etc.

7. *Ibid.*, 1, 10b; 2, 14, 19, 30, 36; 3, 4-6; 11, 15-18; etc.

8. *Ibid.*, 64, 40-48; etc.

9. *Ibid.*, 52, 50 and 57; etc.

10. *Ibid.*, 3, 7-9.

the sixth topic (viz., that of *Prayascitta*) points to chap. 52. The intervening chapters, except chaps. 38-40, are either directly connected with, and are elaborations of, one or other of the six topics mentioned above, or are answers to the questions put by Manu to the Sun towards the end of chap. 1. So, the chapters of the AnSS edition of the *Saura-p.* must be arranged in the following order :

1-10, 14-16, 43, 11-13, 17-37, 41-42, 44-66, 67 and 69.

This proposed arrangement of the chapters of the present *Saura-p.* is supported not only by the MSS. क, ख, ग and ङ used in the AnSS edition<sup>11</sup> but also by the MSS. of this Purāṇa described by WEBER and EGGELING.<sup>12</sup> The MSS. described by R. L. MITRA and HARAPRASAD SHASTRI also seem to have the above mentioned arrangement of their chapters.<sup>13</sup> In the MSS. described by WEBER and EGGELING chap. 1 is placed after chap. 16, but this change of place is immaterial and does not in any way seem to affect the genuineness of chaps. 14-16. As regards the remaining chapters, viz., 38-40 (on the denouncement of *Madhvācārya* and 'his system') and 68 (on *tiṭhi-nirṇaya*, meaning of the word 'guru', etc.), it can be said without the least hesitation that they are interpolations. These four chapters occur neither in the MSS. क, ख, ग and ङ used in the AnSS edition<sup>14</sup> nor in the MSS. described by WEBER and EGGELING.<sup>15</sup> The MSS. described by MITRA and SHASTRI also do not seem to contain these chapters. The spurious character of chaps. 38-40 is further shown by the facts that in none of the remaining chapters there is even a single reference to the topics dealt with in these chapters (38-40), and that the very introductory verse of chap. 41, in which the sages ask Sūta 'to narrate how Viṣṇu received the disc (Cakra) called Sudarśana from Mahādeva,' points to chap. 37 in which the Sudarśana-cakra is mentioned and thus ignores the existence of the intervening chaps. 38-40. Similarly, chap. 68 creates a break in the integrity of chaps. 67 and 69 in which Brahmā enumerates to Nārada the places sacred to Śiva. That chap. 69 is directly connected with, and is a continuation of, chap. 67 is proved by the facts that the opening verse of chap. 69, in which Nārada asks Brahmā to tell him 'why Mahādeva is called Kāla-kāla,' points to verse 22 of chap. 67 in which Brahmā calls Śiva 'Kāla-kāla,' in connexion with the great holy place Mahākāla, and that immediately after satisfying Nārada by narrating how Śiva came to be called Kāla-kāla, Brahmā begins his enumeration of the holy places with the words 'anya-tīrthaṃ puṇyatamaṃ jāleśvaram iti smṛtam,' the word 'anya' pointing out definitely that chap. 69 is a continuation of chap. 67.

Though the present *Saura-p.* is meant for the glorification of Śiva and Pārvatī, chap. 15 (dealing with the Śravaṇa-dvādaśī-vrata which is purely Vaiṣṇava) and verses 29-57 (dealing with the Dūrvā-gaṇapati-vrata which is purely Gāṇapatya) of chap. 43 must not be taken to be spurious. Chap. 15 was evidently introduced by the Śiva-worshippers themselves as an external proof of their apparently sympathetic and compromising attitude towards the more powerful Vaiṣṇavas whom they wanted to placate and win over to their own side by making them believe in the superiority of Śiva over Viṣṇu. Chap. 43, verses 29-57 (on Dūrvā-gaṇapati vrata) are intimately connected with chaps. 11-13 (on persons who can win Śiva's favour and realise him in no time, on Śiva-jñāna, on Pāśupata-yoga, etc.), because it is in these verses that Īśvara, who is the speaker in chaps. 11-13, is introduced as speaking to Skanda and then asking him if he wanted to hear anything else. As the contents of chaps. 11-13 form the answers to some of the questions asked

11. See the footnotes on pp. 33, 43, 52 and 157 of the AnSS ed.

12. See footnote 1 above.

13. See footnote 1 above.

14. See footnotes on pp. 125 and 277 of the AnSS ed.

15. See footnote 1 above.

by Manu to Sūrya in chap. 1,<sup>16</sup> and thus can never be spurious, the genuineness of verses 29-57 (of chap. 43) also cannot be doubted. Moreover, Gaṇapati being intimately connected with Śiva as one of his attendants, the introduction of the Dūrvā-gaṇapati-vrata is not at all unwarranted.

The above analysis shows that all the chapters of the present *Saura-p.*, except four (viz., chaps. 38-40 and 68), can safely be taken as genuine. The contents of these chapters are directly connected with the questions asked by Manu to Sūrya in chap. 1, and there are many cross references in them proving their close inter-relation.<sup>17</sup> Of course, in these genuine chapters there are certainly a few interpolated verses, but these verses do not affect in any appreciable degree the general contents or the date of the present *Saura-p.*

Let us now try to determine the date of composition of this Purāṇa.

The present *Saura-p.* knows the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki,<sup>18</sup> plagiarises many lines from the *Manu-smṛti*,<sup>19</sup> and mentions some of the zodiacal signs (rāśi)<sup>20</sup> and the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu including the Buddha and Kalki.<sup>21</sup> By its mention that though Vyāsa had many pupils; he engaged Sūta with the Purāṇas out of affection,<sup>22</sup> this Purāṇa seems to refer to *Viṣṇu-p.* III, 4, 7-10 and III, 6, 16-17 which state that of the five pupils of Vyāsa Sūta was taught the Purāṇas. The story of the creation of Māyīn (an illusive figure) by Viṣṇu from his own body for the delusion of the Daityas who had become very powerful by virtue of the performance of the Vedic rites and duties as well as of Śiva-worship,<sup>23</sup> seems to be based on the story of Māyāmoha in *Viṣṇu-p.* III, 17-18. By its mention that Skanda has fully declared in the *Skānda* (i.e. *Skanda-p.*) the glories of crores of holy places in and about Ujjayini,<sup>24</sup> the present *Saura-p.* betrays its knowledge of an Avanti-khaṇḍa<sup>25</sup> of the *Skanda-p.* In its list of the eighteen principal Purāṇas

16. *Saura-p.* 1, 41--

kena vā jñāyate samyag ayam aśva ititivat (?) |  
jñāte tasmīns tu kiṃ rūpaṃ tasya jñānaṃ kimātmakam ||

The MSS. क, ख and ग used in the AnSS ed. as well as the MS. described by EGELING read 'ayam artha ititi saṭ 'ayam aśva etc.'

17. For instance, *Saura-p.* 12, 1 refers to 11, 23a; 17, 1 refers to 11, 23-38; 24, 1 refers to 23, 18; 24, 2 refers to 23, 54; 34, 1 refers to chaps. 21-33; 42, 1 refers to chap. 41; and so on.

*Saura-p.* 9, 1-2 introduce chaps. 9-10, 14-16, 43, 17-33 and 52; 34, 2 introduces chaps. 34-37 and 41; 42, 1 introduces chaps. 42-50; and so on.

18. Cf. *Saura-p.* 30, 68-69--

evam saṃkṣepataḥ proktaṃ rāmaśya caritaṃ mayā |  
idaṃ vistarato viprāḥ proktaṃ valmīkinā punaḥ ||

19. <i>Saura-p.</i>	<i>Manu-smṛti</i>	<i>Saura-p.</i>	<i>Manu-smṛti</i>
17, 11b-12a	—cf. 2, 126.	17, 33	= 2, 182.
17, 13b	= 2, 130b.	17, 47b	= 4, 34b.
17, 15a	= 2, 51b.	17, 50a	= 4, 14a.
17, 15b	= 2, 188a.	17, 52b-53a	= 4, 18.
17, 16b-17a	= 2, 57.		

20. *Saura-p.* 51, 30 and 32.

21. *Ibid.*, 15, 14-17 and 24-25.

22. Cf. *Saura-p.* 1, 8--

santanye bahavaḥ śiṣyā api tasya mahātmanah |  
tathāpi śiṣya-vātsalyāt tvaṃ purāṇeṣu yojitaḥ ||

23. *Saura-p.*, chap. 34.

24. Cf. *Saura-p.* 67, 12--

tirthāni koṭiṣaḥ santi ujjayinyāṃ samantataḥ |  
teṣāṃ mahātmyam akhilaṃ skānde skandena bhāṣitaṃ ||

25. The 'Avanti-khaṇḍa' known to the present *Saura-p.* must not be taken to be completely identical with the printed Avantya-khaṇḍa which comprises the Revā-khaṇḍa and which is the result of several recasts to which the earlier Avanti-kh.

the present *Saura-p.* mentions a *Kūrma-p.* consisting of two parts (Bhāga)<sup>26</sup> and a *Brahma-p.* divided into Samhitās.<sup>27</sup> That the *Kūrma-p.* mentioned by the *Saura-p.* is nothing but the present *Kūrma* is proved definitely by the facts that the present *Kūrma* also is divided into two parts, viz., Pūrva-bhāga and Uttara-bhāga,<sup>28</sup> and that our *Saura-p.* has many chapters and verses in common with the extant *Kūrma*.<sup>29</sup> *Saura-p.* 5, 27 (tasmād vyāsāt paro nānyaḥ śivabhakto jagattraye | kṛṣṇo vā devakī-sūnur arjuno vā mahāmātiḥ ||) also seems to refer to *Kūrma-p.* I, 25f. in which Kṛṣṇa, Vyāsa and Arjuna are introduced as acquiring merits by austerities, pilgrimage etc. for winning Śiva's favour. The *Brahma-p.* mentioned in the present *Saura-p.* is also the same as the present *Brahma*. Though in the Vaṅgavīṣi, Vei. āteśvara and AnSS editions the extant *Brahma-p.* has not been divided into parts, the *Nārādiya-p.* mentions a *Brahma-p.* consisting of two Bhāgas—Pūrva and Uttara, and gives their contents.<sup>30</sup> According to the *Nārādiya-p.*, the contents of the Pūrva-bhāga are as follows :—

Origin of gods, Prajāpatis, Dakṣa and others ; accounts of the Sun ; genealogies ; incarnations of Rāmacandra ; biography of Kṛṣṇa ; geography of the earth ; description of heaven, pātālas and hells ; praise of the Sun ; Pārvatī's birth and marriage ; story of Dakṣa ; and description of Ekāmra-kṣetra.

(To be continued)

was subjected. (See HAZRA, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 163). As a matter of fact, the Revā-khaṇḍa itself nowhere claims to be a part of the Avantya-khaṇḍa. On the other hand, in the *Nārādiya-p.* (Venkatesvara Press ed., I, 95, 7 and 16) and in some of the MSS. of the *Vāyu-p.* (—for instance, see the colophon of MS. No. 41B 18 of the *Vāyu-p.* in the Adyar Library—*samāptam vāyupurāṇapūrvārdham ; atah param revā mahātmyam bhaviṣyati* ) the Revā-mahātmya is attached as a part to the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the *Vāyu-p.* In some MSS. the Revā-mahātmya itself (which is also called Revā-khaṇḍa and Narmadā-mahātmya and which is practically the same as the printed Revā-kh.) claims to be a section of the Uttara-kh. of the *Vāyu-p.* (see EGGEING, *India Office Catalogue*, VI, pp. 1302f. ; AUFRECHT, *Bodleian Catalogue*, pp. 64-65 ; Haraprasad SHASTRI, *Descr. Cat. of Sans. MSS.*, ABS, V, pp. 312-313, No. 3570), and this claim seems to be supported by the printed Revā-kh. also (see *Skanda-p.* V, iii, 3, 13 ; 5, 16 ; 229, 1 ; and 232, 55). It is only in the Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa that the Revā-kh. is called a part of the Avanti-kh. (see Prabhāsa-kh. i, 2, 105).

As the Revā-kh. mentions the present *Saura-p.*, its earlier prototype must have been revised to its present form and character after the present *Saura-p.* had been composed.

It is due to such revisions that the Prabhāsa-kh., though containing chapters written earlier than 1050 A.D. (see HAZRA, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 163), mentions the Revā-kh. as a part of the Avanti-kh. (but does not follow the Revā-kh. in its lists and accounts of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas), and that though the present *Saura-p.* knows an Avanti-kh., the Revā-kh., which the Prabhāsa-kh. attaches as a part to the Avanti-kh., mentions the present *Saura-p.*

26. *Saura-p.* 9, 11—kaurmaṃ bhāga-dvaya-virājitaṃ.

27. *Ibid.*, 9, 6—brahmapurāṇam tatrādyam samhitāyām vibhūṣitaṃ.

28. The present *Kūrma-p.* is merely a part (viz., Brāhmī Samhitā) of the earlier *Kūrma* which consisted of four Samhitās, viz., Brāhmī, Bhāgavati, Saurī and Vaiṣṇavī. See *Kūrma-p.* I, 1, 21-23 ; *Nārādiya-p.* (Pūrva-khaṇḍa), 106, 1-22.

29. <i>Saura-p.</i>	<i>Kūrma-p.</i>	<i>Saura-p.</i>	<i>Kūrma-p.</i>
22, 10	= 1, 5, 23.	26, 16f.	= 1, 13, 1f.
22, 11f.	= cf. 1, 6, 1f.	Chap. 27	= cf. 1, 14.
22, 20-34	= 1, 7, 1-18.	Chap. 28	= cf. 1, 16 (many verses are common).
23, 20-55	= 1, 10, 43-78.	29, 15-27	= cf. 1, 16, 129f.
24, 21b-22	= 1, 9, 36b-37.	29, 28-40	= 1, 16, 192f.

30. *Nārādiya-p.* 1, 92, 30-43.

# THE PHILOSOPHY OF VYŪHAS

By

K. C. VARADACHARI, Tirupati.

"Threefold are those supreme births of this divine  
Force that is in this world ; they are true ;  
They are desirable ; He moves there wide-overt  
Within the Infinite and shines pure, luminous and  
fulfilling ...."

*Rg. Veda, IV. 1. (Śrī AUROBINDO'S translation).*

"Catur-vidhasya Bhagavān mumukṣūṇām hitāya vai |  
Anyeṣāmapī lokānām śṛṣṭhiṣṭhityanta siddhaye ||"

*Viśvakṣena Saṁhitā.*

"One person : Three persons : In all Four persons :  
Being thus the enjoyable Being, and the person realized  
Through Merit, and the Person of (many) manifestational Forms  
O First Lord ! Lying on the serpent in the Milk Ocean and  
Beyond it, Thou art the Transcendent Special Form."

*Tirucchanda Viruttam, 17.*

Una Substantia tres personæ : *Tertullian.*

The theory of multiple manifestations of the Divine Transcendent Being in Religion as persons is not new. It is a constantly recurring principle that the Divine continuously incarnates in His Creation for whatever purpose of Līlā that might be experienced by Him. The most obvious purposes that underlie these descents can only be (i) that the Divine is working out a wonderful potentiality in His Nature for self-enjoyment or delight, and (ii) that the Divine does this for the sake of rescuing the souls which are wallowing in Creation and is uplifting them and make them 'share' in the Delight of Ascent of themselves and Enjoy the Descent of the Divine. In the first view, we may accept God's complete 'Selfness' of all creation too, and that there is nothing other than the Supreme Divine, such as souls and matter and other entities, and, even if they are, they are but self-projections from a wide multiplanal activity that appears diverse. So much so, some of these entities do not betray even in the slightest the qualities unique to the Supreme Spirit, except forsooth in the subordination of these to the higher levels of conscient activity. But even then the lower ones try to resile from or reconquer the consciousness that subdued them. Temporary successes of consciousness however, may as well be no successes, and there remains the solid threat of annihilation and absorption into this Unconsciousness.

1. Cf. *Introduction to Pāncarātra* : O. SCHRADER, pp. 35-41.

Cf. *Viṣṇusahasranāma-bhāṣya*, name 122 : *Parāśarabhaṭṭa*.

"Paravyūha-vibhava-tmanā trividham param brahmā" iti Bhāgavata siddhāntaḥ. Tatra *parannāma* akāryam, *kāryād* anavacchinna-pūrṇa-śadgunya-mahāṁṇavot-kalikaikāṭapatikṛta nissīma nityabhoga-vibhūtikam. Muktopasṛpyam, anupādhikam avasthānam.

*Vyūhasca* mumukṣusirṣṭayā pradeya śṛṣṭi-sthiti-layāḥ, śāstra-tadārtha-tatphalāni dhyānārādhane līlācetiḍśakāryopayukta vibhaktā paraguna-rūpavyāpāraśīkāra-vyūha nirvāhita līlā vibhūtikam. Muktiśādhakam, caturdhāvasthānam.

*Vibhāvasca* tacchāyāḥ sura nara-tiryagādi svavibhava-sajātiyāḥ aicchāḥ prādurbhāva-vargāḥ. Prādurbhāvaḥ kecit sāktāt, anye tu. aṣṭyādi-viśiṣṭa puruṣādiṣṭānena. Itareṣu vyaktiṣu svayam evāvātīrya yāthā arcāvatāra iti.

The view that 'All is Brahman' (*sarvam khalvidam Brahma*) and the view 'All this is for the habitation of the Lord' (*Īśāvāsyant idam sarvam.*) are identical in one sense, for the chief common factor is that 'all this is of the Lord,' 'belongs to the Lord' and is possessed completely by the Lord. If the whole universe be the Lord, then the pantheistic situation arises. The theistic attitude demands of the Deity something more than the *all-is-ness*. It claims for God transcendence over all that is, may be and has been too. Further in the pantheistic attitude there is possible the one full experience of the Divine as All, and that all that is is Good and complete. There is no place for Grace and Surrender, and all evolution becomes meaningless whirligig and nothing more. Religious consciousness is one of quiet resignation, and not what Spinoza may conceive as the Quiet, that is the result of a *speculum sub specie eternitatis*.

The second view, on the other hand, reveals neither their quiet resignation, nor yet the conception that the world is a static universe, just an emanate like the souls, from a God, and an inferior form of the Divine. The metaphysical view is not clearly visualised. It may entail the view that all are created by God, and perhaps that all are indwelt by God too, but it may not include the view that all are God, God-veiled or self-veiled. The second view is frankly realistic, accepting the world as an inconscient obstructing medium frustrating the vision of the Divine or even the inflow of the Grace towards the individual, thus doubly, that is, physically and psychically, acting like an opaque room. Into this shell-covered existence, caged and confined and firmly imprisoned, if the Grace of God has to penetrate, it alone could do it; no mortal power can do anything. Into this World then the Divine enters out of His Grace, spontaneous and tender, not waiting on the wails of prisoners, or exactly on the prayers of the penitents. This is something that comes out of the Common Grace, that Universal Nature of the Divine as Providence.

Thus it is that theists always affirmed that God out of His sublime Mercy created the Universe, so that individuals may realise their true nature as intelligent beings, who ought to worship the true Divine, and thus achieve that happiness that has been denied to them in the periods of darkness. This is the Nyāya-view and it is acceptable to the other schools of Indian Philosophy too. How shall we conceive of this activity of the sublime Mercy or Providence? The answer is there is a descent of that Providence into the Scheme of the Universe, wherein the Divine Himself becomes the co-worker, the leader and the Ruler and the Teacher of the Way. This activity of Providence or providential design of the universal order may be likened to an inner propulsion in the inanimate and animate creation or as a shaper of things as even the artisan and sculptor does; but in higher creation, as in the human or mental being endowed with conscience, and a reason which is capable of itself following up any instruction, it happens by an inner and deeper selfing by the Divine and not as an outer mentor or dictator. It is true, even here, because of the registered unity of the outer universe and because we could be shaped to a certain extent, if not completely, as near completeness as our materiality can permit, that men could be shaped into a set and uniform pattern by coercion and conditioning through constant habituation to a particular routine of existence till it becomes second nature. But beyond, or over and above, this inner lighting of the self in the mental, there happens special need for the special providence to relieve the sin and evil and 'unjust' suffering of mankind. This implies still more special descents of the Divine Being for the sake of the Universe and its creatures both sinners as well as saints. It may be asked why there should be so much purposeless suffering and then a need for speculating or postulating the actual occurrence of special descents which may be more or less universally helpful according to the particular historical occasions. A whole universe may be balanced on the fate and realisation of a saint, whereas in another case, not a gnat may be affected by it except the evil.

In these cases, the occurrence of the special providence would be as far distinguished from the general or Universal Providence by a wide range which might flow from the Actual Personal Descent of the Divine to partial manifestations of the Divine personality, or even by sending His messengers, that is to say, well-trying soldiers of God or Saints of knowledge, or by a mere will to save a particular individual. All these ideas have been so clearly stated by the ancient theologians of India, and they called the Actual Descents of the Divine as Avatārs, the partial descents as amśa-avatārs (as in the case of the ālvārs) or upāvatāras and then the messengers were called the Ācaryas, Prophets and Seers, tried and seer-like knowers of the Divine, and lastly the miraculous occurrence in life when men are saved. Some thinkers hold that there is no personality at work. Things happen as if by destiny needing no extra-mundane God. Asks Prof. John Laird in his Gifford Lecture, "Must the graciousness of things, in special critical conjunctions as well as in their common order be something that is *put* into the world by an extra-mundane God, or may it be a feature of the world's pattern truly and faithfully interpreted? It seems to be that the latter conception might well be true" (*Mind and Deity*, p. 201). The question is not whether the extra-mundane God *puts* into the world something, but whether it is Himself who descends into it in such a manner as to be at one with it and appear as if it is that 'pattern truly' of the World-Order itself? This is what is meant by the conception of Creation as an expression of the Divine Grace. This is what is called *Līlā*.<sup>2</sup> Organicism in Indian Philosophy was established as the *sine qua non* of the evolutionary ascent of the souls with their Self as Lord, with their Guide as immanent as well as external, but all leading up to God, who is the Lord of both the Universe and the Souls.

How this process of Descent is achieved and how this *Purpose* of the Divine is carried out as if it were the inner and self-force within each individual creature impelling it to move upward through struggles and strifes, battles of force and of wits, surmountings and conquests, physically and psychically, of one's nature and the rest too, is a problem of vast importance. It is only when the eye of the scientist is glued to the process alone, that he discerns no need for the supramental force that descends into the very marrow and vitals of the individual and creation. He cries out, 'Nature does all.' Pertinently and most frequently the reply comes, even from the ranks of the scientists, the *Unconscious Nature can do but cannot explain*. It can contain the higher and project the higher, but this it can do only through the stress of the Higher, if not as a *dues ex machina*, as a goal, beckoning from the future, but as an in-dwelling impulsion from behind.

That in the largest and profoundest affirmations of the Indian thinkers taken as whole, we do have these two attitudes taken up together so that God may well be, because of His Infinite Nature and Perfection, a Goal to be achieved (*puruṣārtha*), ever present, beckoning the individual creatures to struggle onwards with Him as the One sempiternal Light shedding His resplendent rays on all alike, and also as the Original inner, or rather behind, Impellor, so thoroughly identifying Himself with the creatures He had brought into existence as to appear as their own inner vitality, inner conscience and inner reason, which are thirsting for the higher reaches. They cannot discern, except by a negation of themselves in the lower planes and prior history. It is only when we perceive in the Possibility which is, in reality, the Actuality of the concrete realization of this Dual Activity of God as the Light above and Mother below what we can fully undertake to solve the Riddle of our Struggle and Progress.

2. Cf. my "Concept of Līlā in Viśiṣṭādvaitic Philosophy"; *JBHU*, 1. *Līyam lāriti līlā*.

The rationale of the Divine 'splitting into the many'<sup>3</sup> for the sake of impelling from behind, sustaining within and beckoning forward is to be understood as above. This is the theory of Vyūha in Indian Philosophy, especially of the Pāñcarātra, Tantra and Śrivaishṇava Śāstra.

Vyūha means a sundering apart. (vi Vūh).<sup>4</sup> Of what is this a sundering it may be asked? Pāñcarātra says that it means the keeping apart for the purposes of creative, redemptive, dedicative, providential and destructive activities definite personalities of His Infinite Being. This entails an apparent split alone, since all the personalities of the Divine, whether cosmic or individual or embodied, are One alone. The Pāñcarātra theory postulates five such 'splits' which are the minimum demanded by the Cosmic construction or Order. The Redemptive Transcendent who is ever above the Creative order is the Para; the second consisting of triple forms is that which is of the Cosmic Deities of creation of the Universe, characterised by certain definite acts of creation and sustentation and destruction possessing all the Will and Lordship, strength and Energy (spiritual), Light, and Knowledge and Power. The Pāñcarātra doctrine describes the three Personalities of the Divine in the Cosmic as manifesting two qualities each of the Supreme Lord possessing amongst an infinity of excellent suspicious qualities, six well-known qualities of *aishvarya*, *bala*, *virya*, *tejas*, *jñāna* and *śakti*. The names of these three split-personalities (an unfortunate phrase when taken in the sense of modern psycho-analysis which will be dropped hereafter) are Samkarṣaṇa, Pradhymna and Aniruddha. The manifestation of these personalities is successive and possibly from one another as it is sometimes described.<sup>5</sup> But this does not mean the birth of or origination of the souls such as Samkarṣaṇa, Pradhymna and Aniruddha, for they are not souls at all, but Personalities of the Divine charged with Creative, sustentive and destructive Activities in every sphere of knowledge, Work and Devotion, of Mahān (buddhi), Ahankāra (Selfness) and Manas (mind).

3. Vyūha means dispersal or removal also. *Iśa*, Up. 16. *vyūha raśmin samūha tejah*. Vyūha means also Organization for defence in military science. Separating or individuating defensive organization which is a unitary organization capable of being used for offensive as well as defensive action. Mahāyana Buddhism accepts split-personalities of the Buddha such as Ādi Buddha Dharmakāya, Nirmanakāya and Sambhogakāya.

4. *Ibid*.

5. Cf.: *Mahāsanat Kumāra Samhitā*:

The Mahābhārata version of these vyūhas is thus expressed: From the Supreme, Aniruddha came into being. He, in the morning produced Brahmā, and after all creations being entrusted to him, in the evening out of His wrath He (Aniruddha) begot Rudra (*Śānti Par.* Ch. 342, 17-22; 343, 140). This creation is thus prior to the general creation. For the same view the earlier version is to be found in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*. IX. 1. 6 (Julius EGGELING'S Trans.). Cf. VI. 1. 3, 9.

"When Prajāpati had become disjoined the deities departed from him. Only one god did not leave him, to wit, manyu (wrath); extended he remained within. He (Prajāpati) cried and tears of him that fell down settled down on Manyu. He became the hundred-headed, thousand-eyed, hundred-quivered Rudra..." This is advāra śrīti according to all thinkers since it is prior to the general creation. The Saiva view also accepts a prior manifestation of the Paramaśiva into Śakti and other transcendent categories the last of which becomes the matrix of creation or the creator.

Cf. *Saīa Brāh.* XI. 4. 3. 1 for the birth of Śrī.

Thus we have to conceive of Brahman,—Samkarṣaṇa—Pradhymna and Aniruddha from whom Brahmā and Rudra take their rise. That is to say, Brahmā and Rudra are not Vyūhas of the Divine.

Niyamena teṣām Brahmādinām Bhāgavatāraṇānā svaparigrahanāt devamanuṣyādivat śreṣṭhaprakaraṇeṣu śrīyatayā parigrahaṇāc ca.

*Vijñānaśāstranāma Bhāṣya*; Parāśara Bhaṭṭa :

They are cosmic powers.



The question here is whether or not we have to take the Cosmic powers to be Vyūhas in the sense enunciated as the descents of the Divine which is to be considered to be periodic as against the view they are just powers, permanent or series (*pravāha*) but not descents. If we consider the Divine as triple in the powers of the Brahmā, Rudra and Viṣṇu, as Creator, Destroyer and Sustainer or Ruler, or in ancient terminology, Agni, Indra and Rudra or Viṣṇu, then, these descents are different since they are not Supreme cosmically entering into the scheme for some act of redemption. Now the description of Samkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha seems on the hand to recommend the view that they could be identified with the three gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Rudra, but on a deeper consideration we have to say that can not be done. But what seems to be cosmo-theology is that these Samkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha are the first three splits of the Divine and the creation of Brahmā and Rudra are consequent on the emergence of the *tattvas* or material categories such as Water etc., as the Nārāyaṇīya section points out.<sup>6</sup> In which case it would be wrong to identify the three vyūhas of Nārāyaṇa with the three gods of the Pantheon. The Split or Incarnation does not entail the utter ceasing of the causal Being, God. It is simultaneous Unity in multiplicity and vice versa.<sup>7</sup>

The Divine is not conceived merely as the Lord of the supra-Cosmic entities of Mahān, Ahaṁkāra and Manas incarnating in them for the purpose of those redemptive activities of which the human being must obviously be unaware. It may also be the permanent residence in those spheres of the supra-cosmic existence so that souls who have ascended to those planes might enjoy and serve the Divine in those spheres. These are the Maharloka, Tapoloka, Janaloka, supra-conscious spheres inaccessible except to the seers.

But when the Descent is conceived now as the descent into the soul as its indwelling light and self and Object of profound contemplation, the descent herein mentioned is not the same as the Upaniṣadic statement that He ever is the indwelling seer as such. But the Supreme Divine descends verily into the minute soul so that He could enjoy the soul and in turn be enjoyed by it.

For as the Upaniṣad itself has said it : it is not knowledge, nor askesis nor personal effort that makes one attain the Divine. Whomever He chooses, he attains.

6. The *Parama Samhitā* says that Vāsudeva is for Dharma, Sankarṣaṇa for Jñāna, Pradyumna for Mokṣa whereas Aniruddha is for all-Īśvaratva. (Ch. II. 99, 102) (B.O. Series).

It is interesting to find that the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* gives an original account of the four vyūhas or forms of God. The inscrutable Para, Vāsudeva the Sesa who supports the earth (darkness, brute creation), the Active Pradyumna, the fashioner of virtue (in the language of Tirumalīśai Āḷvār : punniyattin mūrti) who incarnates in divine, human or brute bodies or with such bodies, and fourthly the Anantaśayana form wherein He abides in water with serpent-bed with passion as His attribute and who is active (possibly in Yoga-nidrā as they say). (Canto. IV. 43-59. Pargiter's trans. p. 21. *Bib. Ind.*)

Cf. Bhatta : *Viṣṇu Sah. Nāma Bhāṣya* : 521. *Anantātma* : Bhogindrasya Ātmā : cf. *Śrī Jayākhya Samhitā*.

7. Tertullian wrote that "the peculiar properties of each substance are preserved in tact. *Salva est utriusque proprietates substantiæ* so that in him the spirit conducted its own affairs that is the deeds of power and works and signs and the flesh underwent its sufferings..." (HEADLAM : CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY, p. 355). It would be clear that this is not the conception of Avatārhood in Bhāgavata and Gītā. The Avatāra as descent into the terrestrial scheme underwent sufferings and privations even as postulated by Tertullian but they must be considered to be for the love He bears and as an example of how God's will has to be borne for the extraction of the experience of Delight that is God's even here and with the consciousness that God is with us. The identity with the view of Vyūhas could scarcely be denied from the extract.

Cf. *Mysticism and Personal Idealism* by Dean INGE.

Him *ya me vaiṣa vṛṇate tena labhyaḥ*. We should therefore hold that the prior-to-indwelling as Object of Contemplation and adoration, the Divine is pervasively present in every individual, but once the individual has been chosen for his intense devotion to Him alone, He out of His supreme Grace indeed comes in to reside effulgently and potently at the very core of his Being. God is the omnipervasive Being in each of the microcosmic souls which have been described as 'hundredth part of the point of the air' (Svet. Up. V. 9). Within that *anu* or minuteness indeed the Divine becomes minuter (*anorāṇyān*) just as He had become greater than the greatest or vaster than the vastest. This Objective Presence that the Divine grants to the soul devoted exclusively to Him alone, is a Wonder of Grace that passeth all understanding. Of unique value and inestimable significance is this Descent as Antaryāmin. The Lord indeed of the hut has come back to His cave and thrown resplendent light and has made it into a Palace of self-luminosity and self-effulgence and Supreme Māyā. So is this in the case of all souls, higher and lower and all. The importance to Religion of this descent into the inter-cosmic is a descent of which the Religious consciousness is aware as Revelation. Realization and Resurrection, the three stages of that growing intimacy matured within the cave of the Heart, the ivory tower of Light or White-lotus of Puissance. The descent as Antaryāmin is a revelation like any other in space and time and the history of man. The descents are all of the Love-order, descents which are full and complete and transcendently beautiful. This is the meaning of the Seer who asked us to remember that he who worships God as external and outward is but a creature of the gods (Brh. Up. I. iv. 10). The inner Lord must be known, and entered into a rather He must be invoked through surrender, total and entire, to enter into one-self, completely as Antaryāmin.

This exposition leads to the most important question whether souls also can be of the same kind as these divine fulgurations. This appears to have warranty from the fact of certain descriptions which speak of the creation as comparable to the sparks going out from the burning fire (*yadā pratibuddhyate yathāgnijvalato visphullīgā vipratīṣṭheran* Kāus. Up. III. 3).

So has the Pāñcarātra been criticised by Sāṅkarācārya and against this view Rāmānuja defends the souls' non-origination since Samkarṣaṇa and Pradhyumna and Aniruddha are not souls but emanates.<sup>8</sup> The doctrine of fulguration or self-division through qualities is said to be impossible for qualities without substance cannot exist; the continuum of triple dualities of qualities appearing at different levels of material manifestations is possible, but could be it said that Sankarṣaṇa Pradhyumna and Aniruddha are of this type? Rāmānuja, as pointed out, holds that the vyūhas are not souls at all, neither nityas nor muktas nor baddhas, nor as it appears the cosmic deities like Brahmā, Rudra and Indra and others.

Any explanation according to the theory of Vyūha is either emanational (i.e. fulgurational) or obscurational, according to the accepted conception of the soul. The first view means according to gnostics (knowers) that all souls emanated from One Central or Fundamental Essence and that their degradation or imperfection depends directly on their distance from their essence, for the fact of ejection is the important fact about this fulgurated or fulgurating force or momentum. This means that the souls that have been created, though they partake of the Divine Nature or substance or essence, really represent imperfectly that essence, because of the distance. In other words, the emanation theory does not speak of any real crea-

8. *Vedānta Sūtras* : I. iii. 2 : Cf. *Spirit and Reality* : Nicolas BERDYAEV, p. 134, "Mystical affirmation such as that God is born in the soul and the soul is born in God, eternal genesis, is peculiar to the depths of the Soul, God is more human than man himself, God is within us but we are without can all dispense with theological concepts."

tion according to some philosophers but only of a false ejection, or an illusory projection comparable to illusory sense representation of essences or ideas on the space-time canvas (which is also another illusory canvas or mirror). But this theory, whilst explaining the fall or degeneracy of the soul and may therefore conform to the 'law of entropy' enunciated in modern physics, does not explain the immortality of souls. It is however open to us to accept Prof. Laird's view that immortality means future immortality not a beginninglessness one. This explanation is not accepted by prior thinkers though it is quite plausible. That by itself cannot refute the idea of logical non-relation between beginning and mortality. This fiction of beginning-and-end-necessity relationship has been at the bottom of most philosophical theories of inexpressibility, and entailed constant appeal to scripture. This inexpressibility doctrine had its repercussions on, or parities with, the doctrines of inexpressibilities of karma and avidyā and others whose beginninglessness was considered to be compatible with their end or destruction. The ajāti-vāda or non-creationistic view of Gaudapāda has displayed more loyalty, logically speaking, to this doctrine, so much so it stressed on the law of non-destruction as well as non-origination. Things are, ever have been, and never go out.

Thus the souls are not to be considered to be of the same kind as the vyūhas, and indeed the vyūhas are always capable of emergence and disappearance as soon as the purpose of the Divine are exercised in respect of Cosmic and individual functions of His supreme Grace, whereas the individual souls are immortal as well as beginningless. They are only withdrawn into the Divine womb where they subsist in a subtle form and at the time of creation emerge in their gross form. The sūkṣma becomes sthūla. It would be wrong therefore to take the Grace-Forms of the Divine as the individual souls, nor should we consider the origination of the souls as of the same kind as that of the Divine Emergences which are Descents, avatāras, for the purpose of evolution of, upliftment of, and for Impelling the entire Universe to the Highest stands of His Consciousness. - Being.

Pūṛṇamadaḥ pūṛṇamidam pūṛṇāt pūṛṇam udacyate |  
Pūṛṇasya pūṛṇamādaya pūṛṇamevāvaśiṣyate ||

ॐ शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः

## MISCELLANY

### WHO WERE THE BHĀRĀŚIVAS ?

The identity, history and achievements of the Bhāraśivas have been a source of great speculation and controversy in recent times. The Vākāṅka copper plates inform us that Rudrasena I was the daughter's son of king Bhavanāga who belonged to the Bhāraśiva dynasty, the rulers of which had pleased God Śiva by carrying the *liṅga* on their shoulders, and were coronated with the pure waters of the Ganges, won by their valour. We are further told they had performed ten *Aśvamedha* (horse) sacrifices. As Rudrasena I flourished in c. 350 A.D. Bhavanāga, his maternal grandfather must have flourished by c. 300 A.D. It is thus clear that the ancestors of Bhāraśiva Bhavanāga were ruling during the 3rd century A.D., when some of them had distinguished themselves by the celebration of 10 *Aśvamedha* sacrifices, possibly performed after the conquest of the Ganges valley.

Dr. JAYASWAL has argued<sup>1</sup> that the Bhāraśivas were Nāgas, as suggested by the ending epithet of Bhavanāga and had conquered the Gangetic valley from the Kushānas in c. 200 A.D. During the period of the Kushāna supremacy they had retired into the inaccessible jungles of Bundelkhand. Soon after the death of Vāsudeva I they issued from their jungle asylum, reached the Ganges valley through the ancient route emerging at Mirzapur in U.P., defeated and drove out the Kushānas from the Madhyadeśa and established their dynasty at Kāntipurī, which is identical with Kantī in Mirzapur district. The main Nāga family was ruling at this place; its branches were subsequently established at Mathurā and Padmāvati, the latter place being identical with Padampavāyā in Gwalior state.

While editing the Pauni inscription of the Bhar king Bhagadatta<sup>2</sup> Prof. MIRASHI has suggested that the Bharas mentioned in that inscription most probably belonged to the same clan which, came to be known in later times as Bhāraśivas; their habitat was neither Bundelkhand nor Mirzapur district but southern C.P.

The main difficulty in accepting Dr. JAYASWAL's theory lay in the fact that there was no evidence whatsoever to show that any Nāga dynasty ever flourished at Kāntipurī in Mirzapur district. The theory of Prof. Mirashi was also unconvincing. The Bhar king Bhagadatta flourished in the 2nd century A.D. He was also a Buddhist. There was no evidence to show that his descendants had abandoned Buddhism performed ten *Aśvamedhas* and accepted Saivism.

The problem of the identification of Bhavanāga and the Bhāraśivas was so long presenting considerable difficulties, because no epigraphs or coins of the Bhāraśivas themselves were found. Recently, however, many coins of Bhavanāga have been found at Padmāvati, which according to the Purāṇas was the seat of a Nāga dynasty. The Pauranic statement is confirmed by the coins discovered at this place as early as c. 1860 A.D. General CUNNINGHAM, who had explored the site at that time had found the coins of Bhīmanāga, Devanāga, Skandanāga, Brihaspatināga, Vyāghranāga, Vasunāga, and Gaṇapatiāga.<sup>3</sup> Later on the coins of Prabhākaranāga, belonging to the same series, were published by RAPSON.<sup>4</sup> Recently however the coins of Bhavanāga also, belonging to the same series, have been found at the same place. Like the coins of the other Nāga rulers found at Padmāvati these are small

1. JAYASWAL : *History of India*, pp. 16 ff.

2. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIV, p. 11.

3. *JASB.*, 1865, pp. 115 ff.

4. *JRAS.*, 1900, p. 116.

tiny copper pieces, having a circular legend. They have *trīśūla* on the obverse and Bull on the reverse and the legend reads,

*Mahārāja-śrī Bhavanāga.*

The palaeography of these Nāga coins makes it quite clear that they must have flourished during the 3rd and the 4th centuries A.D. They are however not described as Bhāraśivas in their legends. But Bull figures on the reverse of the coins of most of the above mentioned kings. *Trīśūla* also occurs not unfrequently, as also the peacock, which was the *vāhana* of Skanda, the son of Śiva. It is therefore clear that the dynasty was a Śaiva one and may have been known as Bhāraśiva dynasty. Bhāraśiva Bhavanāga lived in the 4th century A.D. and that is also the time of Bhavanāga of Padmāvati coins. Bhāraśiva Bhavanāga was a staunch Śaiva, the same was the case with Bhavanāga of coins, since we have both *trīśūla* and Bull on them. Bhāraśiva Bhavanāga must have been a neighbour of the Vākātakas and lived not far from the Ganges valley. Padmāvati, the capital of the Bhavanāga of coins, is about 150 miles from the Ganges and Nāga kingdom was to the north of the Vākātika dominions. It is therefore almost certain that Bhavanāga of the coins is the Bhāraśiva Bhavanāga, the maternal grandfather of Rudrasena I. Bhāraśivas then would be the Nāga rulers of Padmāvati.

A. S. ALTEKAR.

# THE SAURA-PURANA\*

By

R. C. HAZRA, Dacca.

The contents of the Uttara-bhāgā, as given by the *Nāṇḍīya*, are the following :—

Description of Puruṣottama-kṣetra ; pilgrimage ; detailed history of Kṛṣṇa ; description of the region of Yama ; funeral sacrifices ; duties of the castes and stages of life ; duties to Viṣṇu (viṣṇu-dharma) ; description of Pralaya ; Yoga ; Sāṃkhya ; Brahma-vāda ; praise of the Purāṇa.

These contents agree fully with those of the present *Brahma-p.* without the *Gautamī-māhātmya* which is an independent work having nothing to do with the *Brahma-p.*<sup>31</sup> So, it is sure that the *Brahma-p.* mentioned in the *Saura* is identical with the present *Brahma*. In *Skanda-p.* V (Āvantya-kh.), iii (Revā-kh.), 1, 31 also a *Brahma-p.*, divided into Saṃhitās, is mentioned (brāhmaṇa purāṇaṃ tatśāstryaṃ saṃhitāyāṃ vibhūṣitam).<sup>32</sup> But as this chapter of the *Skanda-p.* mentions the present *Saura-p.* and has striking verbal agreement with *Saura-p.*, chap. 9 (dealing with the titles and characteristics of eighteen principal Purāṇas and the merits of making gifts of these), it is sure that at least *Skanda-p.* V, iii, 1, 30-47 were written later than the present *Saura*. So the *Brahma-p.*, mentioned in *Skanda-p.* V, iii, 1, 31, must be the same as the present *Brahma*. It is to be noted that in none of the comparatively early references to the '*Brahma-p.*' there is any mention of its division into parts.<sup>33</sup> Now, the date of the present *Kūrma-p.* in its Pāśupata character is to be placed between 700 and 800 A.D.,<sup>34</sup> and that of the present *Brahma-p.*, not earlier than the beginning of the tenth century A.D.<sup>35</sup> So, the present *Saura-p.* is to be dated not earlier than 950 A.D.

Again, Gadādhara quotes two verses from chap. 51 of the present *Saura-p.* in his *Kālasāra* ; Śrināthācārya-cūḍāmaṇi has a verse from the same chapter in his *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava* ; Mādhavācārya quotes three verses from the same chapter in his *Kālanirṇaya*, and Hemādri quotes a large number of verses from chaps. 9, 10, 17, 19, 43, 50, 51 and 65 in his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (see Appendix). So the present *Saura-p.* must be dated not later than 1150 A.D. That the present *Saura-p.* was known to Śrīdhara also, is shown by his remark 'tathāikādaśivratam māheśvaravratavat sauram api bhavati saurapurāṇacca'.<sup>36</sup> This remark must have been based on the line 'vaiṣṇavo vātha śaivo vā sauro' pyetat samācaret' which is quoted from the *Saura-p.* in *Haribhaktivilāsa*, p. 761 and *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* III, ii, p. 173 in connection with Ekādaśi-vrata but is not found in the present *Saura*. As the great majority of the quotations made by Hemādri from the '*Saura-p.*' are traceable in the present *Saura*, it is sure that Hemādri used a MS. of the present *Saura* in which there were a few more chapters or verses on Smṛti topics. So he must have

\* Continued from p. 111.

31. See HAZRA, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 155.

32. This verse also occurs in the Revā-māhātmya (also called Revā-kh. and Narmadā-māhātmya) which is practically the same as the Revā-kh. of the *Skanda-p.* but which claims to be a part of the *Vāyu-p.*—See AUFRECHT, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 65.

33. See, for example, *Matsya-p.* 53, 12b-13a ; *Agni-p.* 272, 1 ; *Skanda-p.* VII, i, 2, 28 ; and so on. See also HAZRA in *ABORI*, XXI p. 39 (footnote 2) for the lists of eighteen principal Purāṇas including the '*Brahma*'.

34. See HAZRA, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 71.

35. See *ibid.*, p. 152.

36. *Smṛtyartha-sāra*, p. 66.

taken the verse 'vaiṣṇavo vātha śaivo va' from this MS. of the present *Saura*. Consequently, the date of this Purāṇa must be placed not later than 1050 A.D.

Thus the date of composition of the present *Saura-p.* falls between 950 and 1050 A.D. That it is a comparatively late work, seems to be shown by the fact that none of the early Smṛti writers of Bengal is found to utilise it. Even Vallālasena is silent about it although it contains a good number of verses on gifts. In Bengal Śrināthācārya-cūḍāmaṇi is perhaps the earliest writer to draw upon this Purāṇa. So it seems that this Purāṇa was circulated in Bengal much later than in western and southern India.

Regarding the date of this Purāṇa Winternitz says: 'As Madhva lived from 1197-1276 and Hemādri wrote between 1260 and 1309, the *Saura-purāṇa* would have been compiled approximately between 1230 and 1250. However, as Chapters 38-40 do not occur in all MSS. (see Edition, p. 125 note and EGGLING, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, p. 1188), it is more probable that they have been interpolated, and that the work is earlier.'<sup>37</sup>

The present *Saura-p.* calls itself a supplement (khila) to the *Brahma-p.* and says that it deals with topics connected with Śiva and consists of two Saṃhitās, the first Saṃhitā being declared by Sanatkumāra (ādyā sanatkumārōktā)<sup>38</sup> and the second by Sūrya to Vaivasvata Manu.<sup>39</sup> The Revā-māhātmya (which claims to be a part of the *Vāyu-p.*) and the Revā-khaṇḍa of the *Skanda-p.* not only verbally reproduce the above mentioned information contained in the present *Saura* but say that this *Saura-p.* of two Saṃhitās was also known under the title *Sanatkumāra*.<sup>40</sup> Now, from the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas we understand that it was the *Ādya*-(or *Ādi*-) *purāṇa*<sup>41</sup> which was declared by Sanatkumāra<sup>41</sup> and was also called *Sanat-*

37. WINTERNITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 536, footnote 2.

38. *Saura-p.* 9, 13-15a—

idam brahmapurāṇasya khilaṃ sauram anuttamam |  
saṃhitā-dvaya-saṃyuktam puṇyam śiva-kathāśrayam ||  
ādyā sanatkumārōktā dvitīyā sūrya-bhāṣitā |  
īyam puṇyatamā khyatā saṃhitā pāpa-nāśinī ||  
vaivasvatīya manave kathitā ravinā purā |

39. See the following lines of the Revā-māhātmya :—

idam brahmapurāṇasya khilaṃ sauram anuttamam |  
saṃhitā-dvaya-saṃyuktam puṇyam śiva-kathāśrayam ||  
ādyā sanatkumārōktā dvitīyā sūrya-bhāṣitā |  
sanatkumāra-nāmnāpi tad vikhyātam mahāmune ||

(AUFRECHT, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 65).

Also *Skanda-p.* V, iii (Revā-kh.), 1, 46-47—

idam brahmapurāṇasya sulabham sauram uttamam |  
saṃhitā-dvaya-saṃyuktam puṇyam śiva-kathāśrayam ||  
ādyā sanatkumārōktā dvitīyā sūrya-bhāṣitā |  
sanatkumāra-nāmnā hi tad vikhyātam mahāmune ||

The Revā-kh. of the *Skanda-p.* is practically the same as the Revā-māhātmya mentioned above.

40. That the *Ādya-p.* and *Ādi-p.* are identical, is shown by the following facts; viz., (1) the *Bṛhaddharma-p.* (25, 23) names the first Upapurāṇa as '*Ādi-p.*' (see *ABORI*, XXI, p. 47, footnote 1); (2) while enumerating the works used in writing the *Dānasāgara* Vallālasena names an *Ādya-p.* (see *Dānasāgara*, fol. 2a), but when this Purāṇa is referred to or drawn upon by him, it is mentioned as '*Ādi-p.*'; (3) in a particular work the same verses are sometimes found quoted as from '*Ādi-p.*' in some MSS and from '*Ādya-p.*' in others (see, for instance, *Aparārka's* com. on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 870); (4) in some of the long citations from '*Ādi-p.*' in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* Sanatkumāra appears as the speaker (see *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, II, ii, p. 518 and pp. 763-768).

41. 'ādyam sanatkumārōktam' or 'ādyam sanatkumāreṇa proktam' see *ABORI*, XXI, p. 40 (footnote 2), p. 41 (footnote 2), p. 42 (footnotes 1 and 2), p. 43 (footnotes 1 and 2), p. 44 (footnote 1), p. 45 (footnote 2), p. 46 (footnotes 1 and 2), p. 47 (footnote 2), and p. 48 (footnote 2).

*kumāra*<sup>42</sup> or *Sanatkumāriya*.<sup>43</sup> So the 'ādyā sanatkumārōktā samhitā' (i.e. the first Samhitā declared by Sanatkumāra) of the present *Saura-p.* is nothing but the *Ādya* (or *Ādi*, or *Sanatkumāra*, or *Sanatkumāriya*) *purāṇa* mentioned in the list of 18 Upapurāṇas. As in all the lists, except those contained in the Revā-kh. and the Revā-mahātmya, the *Ādya* (or *Ādi*, or *Sanatkumāra*, or *Sanatkumāriya*) *purāṇa* is mentioned as an independent Upapurāṇa without any second part declared by Sūrya, its connexion with the present *Saura* is not real. As a matter of fact, the present *Saura* begins like an independent Purāṇic work and nowhere bears any sign to show that it formed the latter part of a bigger work. So it is evident that *Saura-p.* 9, 13-15 combine two independent Purāṇic works (viz., the *Ādya* and the present *Saura*) as two Samhitās forming a complete Purāṇic work known as *Saura-p.* or *Sanatkumāra-p.* The motive underlying this combination is quite obvious. The present *Saura-p.*, being a comparatively late work, attached itself for authority and antiquity to the already established *Ādya* (or *Ādi*, or *Sanatkumāra*, or *Sanatkumāriya*) *purāṇa* declared by Sanatkumāra.

The present *Saura-p.*, which is evidently a late work, must be distinguished from the earlier *Saura* which was mentioned as a Mahāpurāṇa in the earlier *Kālikā-p.*<sup>44</sup> and is included in all the lists of 18 Upapurāṇas except that contained in the *Bṛhad-dharma-p.*<sup>45</sup> So, the earlier *Saura-p.* must be dated earlier than 700 A.D. The distinct character of these two *Saura-purāṇas* is clearly shown not only by their different dates of composition but also by the Revā-mahātmya (as well as the Revā-kh. of the *Skanda-p.*) which mentions two *Saura-purāṇas* in its list of Upapurāṇas. Regarding the first of these two *Saura-purāṇas* the Revā-mahātmya (as also the Revā-kh.) says in the same words as those of the present *Saura* that it is a supplement to the *Brahma-p.*, consists of two Samhitās declared by Sanatkumāra and Sūrya respectively, and is also known by the title '*Sanatkumāra*'.<sup>46</sup> As this information regarding the first *Saura-p.* agrees verbally with that given by the present *Saura* about its own character, it is clear that of the two *Saura-purāṇas* mentioned in the Revā-mahātmya and the Revā-kh. the first is the same as the present *Saura*; and as the second is assigned the 15th place in these two sources as well as in all other lists except that in the *Devī-bhāgavata*, it must be the earlier *Saura*.

Though the earlier *Saura-p.*, which was also called *Sāvitra*,<sup>47</sup> is described as 'mahādbhuta' ('extremely wonderful')<sup>48</sup> and 'sarvārtha-sampaya' (a repository of

42. See *Devī-bhāgavata* I, 3, 13, and the '*Brahmavivarta*?' as quoted in the *Vira-mūrodaya*, *Paribhāṣā-prakāśa*, p. 14, wherein the first Upapurāṇa is called *Sanatkumāra* and not '*Ādya*'. It is to be noted that in the great majority of the lists of 18 Upapurāṇas the first Upapurāṇa is the *Ādya* declared by Sanatkumāra.

43. See *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 19 wherein Narasiṃha Vajapeyin gives a list of 18 Upapurāṇas on the basis of that contained in the *Kūrma-p.* but names the first Upapurāṇa as '*Sanatkumāriya*' and not as '*Ādya*' like the *Kūrma-p.* See *ABORI*, XXI, p. 41 (footnote 1) and p. 40 (footnote 2).

44. See the verses quoted from the earlier *Kālikā-p.* in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, p. 531 (*kālikā-purāṇe—śaivam yad vāyunā proktaṃ vairiṇ-cim vaiṣṇavam tathā* || ..... || sauram ca nāradyam ca ..... ||) and II, i, p. 22 (*kālikāpurāṇe—śaivam yad vāyunā proktaṃ vairiṇ-cim saurameva ca* | ..... ||). The reading 'saurameva ca' in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* II, i, p. 22 does not seem to be the original one, because this reading is found replaced by the reading 'vaiṣṇavam tathā' in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, p. 531 where the same verse of the *Kālikā-p.* has been quoted.

45. See *ABORI*, XXI, pp. 40-48.

46. For the relevant extracts of the Revā-mahātmya and the Revā-kh. see footnote 39.

47. Cf. the line 'tataḥ saura-purāṇākhyam sāvitrām iti ceritam' occurring in the *Saura-samhitā* of the *Skanda-p.*—EGGELING, *India Office Catalogue*, VI, p. 1382.

48. See *Siva-mahātmya-khaṇḍa* of the *Sūta-samhitā* of the *Skanda-p.*—EGGEL-



all the ends of life),<sup>49</sup> it does not seem to have been drawn upon by any of the Nibandha-writers. Either this earlier *Saura* was rather unpopular like the earlier *Brahmavivarta*,<sup>50</sup> or it was lost and replaced by the present *Saura-p.* even earlier than 1150 A.D., just as the earlier *Kālikā-p.* was eclipsed by the present one.<sup>51</sup> The second alternative seems to be probable, as the earlier *Saura* is called 'sarvārtha-saṃcaya' (a repository of all the ends of life) in many of the lists, thus indicating that it was a popular Purāṇic work rich in Smṛti contents. It is, however, not known whether this earlier *Saura* was a Śaiva, Śākta, Vaiṣṇava or Saura work and what the nature of its contents was. Vallālasena's silence about this Purāṇa tends to show that it did not contain any topics on gifts.

The earlier *Saura-p.* must not be confused with the *Āditya-p.* mentioned in the *Matsya-p.* (53, 62), *Bṛhaddharma-p.* (25, 23) and *Devī-bhāgavata* (I, 3, 15) and drawn upon by Alberūni and the commentators and Nibandha-writers both early and late. That these two Purāṇas are quite distinct works, is shown by the facts that the *Devī-Bhāgavata* mentions both these Purāṇic works in its list of Upapurāṇas<sup>52</sup> and that whenever Alberūni and others have to refer to or draw upon the *Āditya-p.*, they do so under the title '*Āditya-p.*'

In a few chapter-colophons of some of the MSS of the present *Saura*, this Purāṇa is called the 'Mānaviya-saṃhitā' belonging to the *Āditya-p.*<sup>53</sup> So it is liable to be taken as a part (Saṃhitā) of the *Āditya-p.* As a matter of fact, in many of the catalogues of Sanskrit MSS. this Purāṇa is mentioned under the title '*Āditya-p.*' But this connexion of the present *Saura* with the *Āditya-p.* is totally unwarranted; because the *Āditya-p.*, which is mentioned in the *Matsya-p.*, *Bṛhaddharma-p.* and *Devī-bhāgavata* and drawn upon by Alberūni and the Smṛti-writers, both early and late, is certainly a much earlier work. Moreover, nowhere in the body of its text does the *Saura-p.* connect itself with the *Āditya*; and of a few hundreds of metrical lines quoted from the '*Āditya-p.*' in the Smṛti commentaries and Nibandhas,<sup>54</sup> only five are found in the present *Saura*.<sup>55</sup> But this coincidence must not be taken very seriously, because stray verses are often found common even among independent Purāṇic works which might have taken these verses from a common source such as the *Mahābhārata* or some early Purāṇic or Smṛti work. The above mentioned connexion of the present *Saura-p.* with the *Āditya-p.*, however, seems to be based on *Saura-p.* 1, 6 in which the sages ask Sūta to tell them how 'Āditya' declared the *Saura-p.* (kathaṃ bhagavatā pūrvam āditye-nātmārūpiṇā | purāṇaṃ kathitaṃ sauraṃ tanno vaktum ihārhasi ||).

From what has been said above it is clear that the title '*Āditya-p.*' must not be applied to the present *Saura*. Whenever the commentators and Nibandha-writers have to refer to or draw upon the present *Saura*, they always do so under the title '*Saura-p.*' The title '*Saura*' also occurs in the body of the text of the

ING, *India Office Catalogue*, VI, p. 1378. Also *Prasthāna-bheda* (of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī), p. 10.

49. See *Kūrma-p.* I, 1, 20; *Vīra-mitrodaya*, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14; *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, I, p. 533 and II, i, p. 21; *Skanda-p.* V, iii, 1, 52; *Revā-māhātmya* —AUFRECHT, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 65; *Skanda-p.* VII, i, 2, 15; etc. See *ABORI*, XXI, pp. 40-48 (footnotes).

50. HAZRA, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 167.

51. *ABORI*, XXII, pp. 4f.

52. *Devī-bhāgavata* I, 3, 13-16.

53. 'iti śrī-āditya purāṇe mānaviya-saṃhitāyām .....—see footnote 1.

54. Viz., in Aparāṅkā's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, *Adbhuta-sāgara*, *Smṛtyartha-sāra*, *Smṛti-candrikā*, *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, *Kāla-nirmaya*, *Mādhava-cārya's* commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, *Madana-pārijāta*, *Varṣa-kaumudī*, *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, *Dāna-kaumudī*, *Nityācāra-paddhati*, *Smṛti-tattva*, *Haribhakti-vilāsa*, *Kāla-sāra* (of Gadādhara), *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, and *Vidhāna-pārijāta* I.

55. Viz., the five lines quoted from the '*Āditya-p.*' in *Parāśara-bhāṣya* I, i, p. 177 agree with *Saura-p.* 10, 3 and 5-6a.

present *Saura-p.*<sup>56</sup> Similarly, the title '*Sūtra-p.*' also, occurring in some of the chapter-colophons of some of the MSS. of the present *Saura*,<sup>57</sup> must not be taken to be the real title of this Purāṇa.

The present *Saura-p.* is undoubtedly a work of the Pāsupatas who must be distinguished from the Āgamic Śaivas. In all the genuine chapters of this Purāṇa the Śiva-worshippers are called 'Pāsupata' (and sometimes 'Māheśvara'). In the genuine chapters, the name 'Śaiva' for the Śiva-worshippers is used only once, viz., in the verse 6b-7a of chap. 43, but that verse is found only in two worse MSS. as against seven better ones.<sup>58</sup> The system of Yoga followed by these Śiva-worshippers is called 'Pāsupata-yoga' (and sometimes 'Māheśvara-yoga'); their Vrata is called 'Pāsupata-vrata'; and the knowledge of Śiva is termed 'Pāsupata-jñāna'.<sup>59</sup> The principal scriptures of these Pāsupatas are the *Atharvavidya-upaniṣad* and the Satarudrīya-section of the *Yajurveda*.<sup>60</sup> They hold the Vedas in high esteem, call these works the eternal eyes of all beings,<sup>61</sup> identify them with Śiva,<sup>62</sup> and look upon those who decry these holy scriptures. They declare that the Vedas are the highest authority as regards Dharma, and that all actions done against their directions are destined to be fruitless and conducive to hell.<sup>63</sup> They attach great importance to the Varṇāśrama-dharma. In their opinion, neglect of the Śrauta-dharma is one of the main causes of degradation of a family,<sup>64</sup> and the best recipients of gifts are those Brahmin Pāsupatas, Vaiṣṇavas or Sauras who are versed in the inner meanings of the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas, study these works daily, are engaged in the performance of Śrauta and Smārta rites, and so on.<sup>65</sup> They have their hair matted, basmear their body with ashes, paint on their forehead the sectarian mark Tripundra with the same, mutter Cāyatri which is identified with Śiva, worship their deity with flowers and the muttering of Vedic and Purāṇic Mantras, and meditate on Śiva as seated in the sun.<sup>66</sup> In their opinion, the Pāsupata-yoga, which is to be practised only in the stage of Saṃnyāsa,<sup>67</sup> is the highest type of Yoga that can liberate beings from bondage.<sup>68</sup> They honour their Ācāryas with presents of clothes, ornaments etc. in vows and worships,<sup>69</sup> and put stress on Karma-yoga which is explained by them as comprising worship, muttering of the Mantra, performance of Homa, and utterance of the name and praise of Śiva.<sup>70</sup> They preach the worship of the images of Śiva, especially of his Liṅgas, and the sectarian Mantra is 'oṃ namaḥ śivāya.' They look down upon those sects which are heretical or are guided by the Tantras.<sup>71</sup> As to their philosophical view, they take up an intermediate position between the orthodox systems. On the one hand, they explain the nature of Śiva in accordance with the Advaita philosophy of the Vedānta, and on the other, they explain the creation of the universe according to the Sāṃkhya system.

56. See *Saura-p.* 69, 55 (the reading 'sauram' is supported by the India Office MS. also; SHASTRI and WEBER's Catalogues do not inform us whether the ASB and Berlin MSS. also read 'sauram'); 1, 14 (though the reading 'sauram', which occurs in MSS. क, ह, ङ, छ, ज and झ used in the AnSS ed., is supported by the ASB and Berlin MSS., it is substituted by the reading 'śaivam' in the India-Office MS.—see SHASTRI'S *ASB Cat.*, V, p. 759, WEBER'S *Berlin Cat.*, p. 116, and EGGEING'S *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, p. 1186), 1, 6 (the reading 'sauram' occurs in MSS. क, च, ज and झ used in the AnSS ed.).

57. See footnote 1.

58. See AnSS ed., p. 158, footnote. 59. *Saura-p.* 6, 7.

60. *Saura-p.* 5, 12; 6, 20; 12, 10; and so on.

61. *Saura-p.* 17, 35.

62. *Saura-p.* 5, 20; 45, 12.

63. *Saura-p.* 2, 55-59.

64. *Saura-p.* 18, 9.

65. *Saura-p.* 10, 8-10.

66. *Saura-p.*, chap. 18, 41, 144; and so on.

67. *Saura-p.* 27, 28.

68. *Saura-p.* 6, 26-27.

69. *Saura-p.* 43, 5; 16, 37.

70. *Saura-p.* 46, 60; 46, 59; 48, 3.

71. See footnotes 72 and 73 below.

A perusal of the present *Saura-p.* shows clearly that the Pāsupatas wrote this Purāṇa in order to attain their sectarian end. At the time of composition of this Purāṇa there was a remarkable increase in the number of the Buddhists, Jains, Kāpālikas, Tantriks and others who disregarded the directions of the Vedas and the Dharmaśāstras, became ascetics in hundreds and thousands, and decried Śiva and his worship.<sup>72</sup> So, in order to improve their own position the Pāsupatas fabricated a story to show that these Buddhists, Jains and followers of other heretical systems were originally the demon followers of Raktāsura.<sup>73</sup> The greatest rivals of the Pāsupatas, however, seem to have been the Vaiṣṇavas who also decried Śiva and had already begun to increase in number most probably at the cost of the Pāsupatas.<sup>74</sup> But the Pāsupatas were wise enough to change their method of propaganda against these powerful Vaiṣṇava rivals. They did not denounce the Vaiṣṇavas but took an apparently compromising attitude towards Vaiṣṇavism. They praised Viṣṇu and decried his denouncement.<sup>75</sup> They fabricated stories to show that Viṣṇu is a part of, and is inseparably connected with, Śiva who is the highest deity,<sup>76</sup> and that the former worshipped the latter more than once, praised him as the highest deity, and craved for unswerving devotion to him.<sup>77</sup> They preached that Viṣṇu was dearer to Śiva than all other gods,<sup>78</sup> that Viṣṇu's position was due only to Śiva's favour,<sup>79</sup> and that Viṣṇu, who thus occupied an inferior position, could never be the saviour of his worshippers.<sup>80</sup>

The sectarian bias of this Purāṇa is remarkable in more places than one. The Pāsupatas are directed to regard Śiva and Pārvatī as higher than Brahmā and other gods and their Śaktis respectively; if anybody looks upon these deities as equal he is deemed untouchable.<sup>81</sup> Even Brahmā and Viṣṇu are made to seek favour of Śiva,<sup>82</sup> and Kṛṣṇa is said to have been one of the chief worshippers of this deity.<sup>83</sup> The Pāsupatas have been given the highest position; even a worth-

72. Cf. *Saura-p.* 4, 17—

prāptaṃ kaliyugaṃ ghoram pupya-mārga-bahiṣkṛtam |  
pākhaṇḍācāra-niratam mlecchāndhra-jana-saṃkulam ||

and *Saura-p.* 4, 25-27a—

kāśāyinaś ca nirgranthā nagnāḥ kāpālikāś tathā |  
baudhā vaiśeṣikā jainā bhaviṣyanti kalau yuge ||  
tapoyajña-phalānām tu vikretāro dvijādhamāḥ |  
yatayaśca bhaviṣyanti śataśo 'tha sahasraśaḥ ||  
vinindanti mahādevaṃ saṃsārānmocakaṃ param |

See also the next footnote.

73. Cf. *Saura-p.* 49, 133-139a—

... daityāś te 'tha pradudruvuh |  
kecilluñcita-mūrdhāno nagnā bhūtvā vane 'vasan ||  
dayādharmaṃ bruvāṇāś ca nirgrantha-vratam āsthitāḥ |  
keci prānaparā bhītāḥ pākhaṇḍa-vratam āśritāḥ ||  
hetuvādaparā mūdhā niḥśaucā nirapeksakāḥ |  
asurasya janasyaite kṣapanā iva lakṣitāḥ ||  
te cādyāpi drśyante loke kṣapanakāḥ kila |  
arhantaś ca tathaivānye śiva-śāstra-bahiṣkṛtāḥ ||  
mantrauśadha-prayogaś ca jana-vañcana-kārakāḥ |  
samtutpsyanti daityāś ca ghore' smin vai kalau yuge ||  
śivoktam karmayogaṃ ca dviṣantaś ca kuyuktibhiḥ |

74. Cf. *Saura-p.* 4, 21—

puruṣottamam āśritya śiva-nindā-ratā dvijāḥ |  
kalau yuge bhaviṣyanti teṣāṃ trātā na mādavaḥ ||

75. *Saura-p.* 52, 58.

76. *Saura-p.* 24, 66-72.

77. *Ibid.*, 24, 73; 41, 155.

78. *Ibid.*, 57, 59.

79. *Ibid.*, 64, 26; 66, 37.

80. *Ibid.*, 4, 21. For the verse see footnote 74.

81. *Ibid.*, 18, 26-29.

82. *Ibid.*, chap. 24.

83. *Ibid.*, 31, 57-60.

less Pāsupata is to be regarded as a better recipient of gifts than others, and in vows and funeral ceremonies the devotees of Śiva are to be preferred as recipients of gifts and invited guests respectively.<sup>84</sup> In this Purāṇa Upamanyu is even made to say that one who commits suicide after killing the censurer of Śiva, attains the highest state of existence.<sup>85</sup>

In spite of its praise of the Vedas and the Śrauta and Smārta Dharma, the present *Saura-p.* is not totally free from Tantric influence. Though according to this Purāṇa the medium of worship is generally the image (pratimā)<sup>86</sup> and the Mantras to be used are Vedic or Purāṇic or both,<sup>87</sup> it recommends the drawing of Maṇḍalas (circles) and Padmas (lotuses), the performance of Nyāsa in Śiva and Gaṇapati-worship,<sup>88</sup> and the feeding of virgin girls (kumārā-bhojana) in Devi-worship.<sup>89</sup> It does not recognise the authority of the Tantras.

As to the provenance of this Purāṇa nothing can be said definitely. From the facts that this Purāṇa regards Madhyadeśa (i.e. the tract of land between the Ganges and the Yamuna) as the birth-place of Śaṅkara, and looks upon Kurukṣetra, Matsya, Pāñcāla and Śūrasena as holy countries where Dharma is practised, and that it advises people to shun Āṅga, Vāṅga, Kāliṅga, Surāṣṭra, Gūjara, Ābhira, Kauṅkara, Drāviḍa, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Andhra and Magadha,<sup>90</sup> it seems that this Purāṇa was written somewhere about the north-western part of northern India. It is most probably for this reason that the great majority of the rivers and holy places named and praised in this Purāṇa belong to northern India. This Purāṇa has a special dislike for the people of Andhra. It describes Kali-yuga as given to the customs of the Pāṇḍas and abounding in Mlecchas and Andhras.<sup>91</sup> It is probable that in Andhra Vaiṣṇavism was in a flourishing condition at least during the period of composition of this Purāṇa.

A few words may be said here on the spurious chapters 38-40. A perusal of these chapters shows that these were written by a Śiva-worshipper of northern India<sup>92</sup> in order to check the spread of the views of Madhvācārya who decried Śaivism and did not recognise the superiority of Śiva over Viṣṇu. It seems that at the time of composition of these chapters the Śiva-worshippers decreased considerably in number, while there was a remarkable increase in the number of Vaiṣṇavas.<sup>93</sup> Consequently, in these chapters such Vaiṣṇavism as is tolerant of Śaivism has been encouraged and an attempt has been made to influence the Vaiṣṇavas indirectly with Śaivism by preaching that the spread of Viṣṇu-worship was due to a boon granted to that effect by Śiva to Viṣṇu.<sup>94</sup> Herein Madhvācārya's followers have been decried in the strongest terms. They have been called pseudo-ascetics and Kaulikas (Left-hand Śāktas) in disguise.<sup>95</sup> They are said to be given to sensual pleasures, to be addicted to all kinds of vice such as adultery, drinking etc., to decry Yoga and the Advaita philosophy of the Vedānta, to boast on secret works, to hold the Purāṇas as equal to the works on Vedānta, to have no śikhā (lock of hair left on the crown of the head) or sacred thread, and so on.<sup>96</sup>

84. *Ibid.*, 10, 12-14 ; 14, 29-30 ; 19, 2-3 and 6 ; and so on.

85. *Ibid.*, 36, 33—

śiva-nindākaram dṛṣṭvā ghātayitvā prayatnataḥ |  
hatvātmānam punar yastu sa yāti paramāṁ gatim |

86. *Ibid.*, 16, 35 ; 43, 7 and 23 ; and so on.

87. *Ibid.*, 42, 24 ; 15, 35 ; and so on.

88. *Ibid.*, 42, 10 ; 43, 39 ; 44, 23, 27, 29 and 35 ; and so on.

89. *Ibid.*, 50, 34 and 37.

90. *Ibid.*, 17, 54-59.

91. *Ibid.*, 4, 17.

92. Cf. *ibid.*, 39, 55-56 and 75 ; 40, 47-48.

93. *Ibid.*, 38, 8-11 ; 40, 47-49.

94. *Ibid.*, 38, 8-11.

95. *Ibid.*, 39, 64.

96. *Ibid.*, 39, 58-59 and 63-77 ; 40, 60-69.



3. *Kāla-nirṇaya*  
of Mādhavācārya, *Saura-p.*  
p. 124 = 51, 5.  
p. 165 = 51, 4.  
p. 191 = 51, 10.
4. *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*  
of Hemādri,  
Vol. I,  
p. 5 = 10, 3 and 5-6a.  
p. 157 = 10, 49b-50a.  
pp. 531-2 = 9, 3-4 and 5b-14a.  
pp. 539-540 = 9, 14b-17a.  
Two verses, viz., 'anyānyupa-  
purāṇāni' and 'Śiva dharmādi-  
śāstrāṇi,' are not found.  
p. 693 = 10, 49b-50a.  
p. 982 = 10, 46b-47a.
- Vol. II, part i,  
pp. 520-23 = 43, 29-41 and 43  
to the end  
pp. 897-99 = 50, 26b-42. Ten  
lines from 'śāstra-vayasya'  
etc. on p. 898 are not found.
- Vol. II, part ii,  
p. 156 (twice) = 65, 11b-12;  
65, 62.
- Saura-p.*  
p. 312 = 65, 10.  
p. 396 = 65, 9.
- Vol. III, part i,  
p. 283 = 51, 4.  
p. 286 = 51, 15.  
p. 354 = 17, 54b-55a.  
p. 506 = cf. 17, 58b-59.  
p. 603 = 19, 24-25a.  
p. 1044 = 19, 29.  
p. 1073 = 19, 27.  
p. 1183 = 19, 13b-14a.  
p. 1186 = 19, 13a.  
p. 1210 = 19, 14b-15a.  
p. 1235 = 19, 16.  
p. 1243 = 19, 17b.  
p. 1260 = 19, 18.  
p. 1344 = 19, 22.  
p. 1345 = 19, 21.  
p. 1393 = 19, 28b.  
p. 1497 = 19, 29-30.
- Vol. III, part ii,  
p. 97 = 51, 5-6.  
p. 117 = 51, 10-11.  
p. 118 = 51, 10.  
p. 447 = 51, 16.  
p. 526 = 51, 4.  
pp. 544-45 = 51, 4.  
p. 724 = 17, 48b-49a.

## APPENDIX II

The following quotations made from the '*Saura-p.*' or

'*Saura*' are not found in the present *Saura-p.* :-

- (1) *Kālasāra*, p. 382.
- (2) *Sāṃkhyā-pravacana-bhāṣya* (of Vijñāna-bhikṣu), p. 19.
- (3) *Haribhakti-vilāsa* (of Gopāla-bhaṭṭa), pp. 756, 761.
- (4) *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*. I, p. 988; II, ii, pp. 24 (on Sarva-vrata), 912-14, 917, 954, 956; III, i, pp. 226, 405, 468, 685, 706, 711-12, 732-33, 747, 862, 1623, 1625; III, ii, pp. 173, 179, 197, 644.
- (5) *Smṛtyartha-sāra*, p. 66 (tathāikādaśi-vratam māheśvara-vratavat sauram api bhavati saura-purāṇacca).

In his *Nītyācāra-pradīpa* Narasiṃha Vājapeyin quotes three metrical lines from a '*Saura-kāṇḍa*' on p. 166 and two verses from a '*Saura*' on p. 167. But none of these verses is found in the present *Saura-p.* It is highly probable that these verses were derived by Narasiṃha Vājapeyin either from the *Tvāṣṭra* (i.e. *Saura*) Parvan of the *Bhaviṣya-p.* or the *Saura-saṃhitā* of the *Skanda-p.*

# UNPĀNINIAN FORMS AND USAGES IN THE CRITICAL EDITION OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

## 3. NON-FINITE FORMS<sup>1</sup>

By

E. D. KULKARNI

The Non-finite forms are divided into two sections, namely (a) Infinitives and (b) Gerunds. The Infinitive is formed by adding *-tum* to the root which undergoes the same changes as before the *-tā* of the Periphrastic future. The general rule is that to the termination, *-i* is to be prefixed after *seṭ* roots and optionally after *veṭ* roots; *-i* is not added after *aniṭ* roots. The Gerunds are formed in Classical Sanskrit by one of the two suffixes *-tvā* and *-ya*, the former being used with a simple or non-compounded root and the latter with one that is compounded with a prepositional prefix or rarely with an element of another kind, as adverb or noun except such, as are preceded by the negative particle.<sup>2</sup> These also follow the same ordinary rules of euphonic combination. To this distribution of uses between the two suffixes and to the uses of the general principles with regard to the *seṭ*, *veṭ* and *aniṭ* roots in both the cases, there are occasional exceptions in the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata. One has to take into account even the general rules regarding the uses of the simplex and the causative in the formation of infinitives and gerunds. Naturally I have divided these sections according to the nature of the topic. We divide infinitives in four groups (1) *seṭ* for *aniṭ*; (2) *aniṭ* for *seṭ*; (3) simplex for causative; (4) causative for simplex. Similarly gerunds are divided in six groups; (1) gerunds of compounded roots; (2) gerunds of non-compounded roots; (3) *seṭ* for *aniṭ*; (4) *aniṭ* for *seṭ*; (5) simplex for causative; (6) causative for simplex. I have further added one miscellaneous group, in each of the sections, in which instances of different types, which cannot be grouped under large heads, are mentioned. One will clearly see from the following classification that *seṭ* and *aniṭ* roots were interchangeable, *aniṭ* roots being used as *seṭ* and vice versa. The simplex and causative forms were also confused many times. With regard to the miscellaneous group, it is important from psychological point of view. These are *shreib fehler* or faults which provide an interesting field of investigation. In this connection it was pointed out by Dr. KATRE in his extension

1. For previous study of the series see Annals BORI. XXIV pp. 83-97 and BDCRI. IV pp. 227-45. I have to thank Dr. Katre for giving me valuable suggestions in the preparation of this article.

२) समासेऽनञपूर्वे क्तबोध्यम् ॥ अव्ययपूर्वपदेऽनञ् समासे क्तो ल्यबादेशः स्यात् ।

S K on Pāṇini 7-1-37 cf. WHEATLEY 335 § 292.

lecture delivered at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in 1940, that these so called faults are real indexes to the force of linguistic evolution of Middle and New Indo-Aryan, which transforms one set of forms into another changing at times the very nature of the language<sup>3</sup>. The present series is an humble attempt to touch this problem in the light of Dr. KATRE's remarks.

The accusative of a derivative *nomen actionis* in *-a* used adverbially assumes sometimes a value and construction with that of the usual gerund. They are styled as *namuls*. WHITNEY in his *Sanskrit Grammar* remarks that no example of such form occurs in RV or AV<sup>4</sup>. It is found especially in the Brāhmaṇas and sūtras. In the epics it is extremely infrequent — only three being noted in the present paper. Later also it occurs sparingly.

#### INFINITIVES

##### I SET FOR ANIT.

- apakarṣitum*—1.148.1<sup>d</sup> ( G<sub>5</sub> vyapohitum ; G<sub>6</sub> parīkṣitum ) ;  
*prakarṣitum*—5.166.23<sup>f</sup> [ K<sub>4</sub> BD ( except D<sub>2</sub> ; D<sub>4</sub> om. ) kseptum ] ;<sup>4</sup>  
*nayitum*—1.165.29<sup>d</sup> ( K<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> BD T<sub>1.2</sub> C<sub>1.2.4-6</sub> *netum* ) ;  
 5.20.7<sup>d</sup> ( K<sub>4</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>3.4.9</sub> T<sub>1</sub> G *netum* ; D<sub>1</sub> *nayat tam* ) ;  
*ānayitum*—1.732<sup>x.4</sup> ;  
*bhajitum*—1.72.5<sup>b</sup> [ K ( except K<sub>4</sub> ) D<sub>3</sub> *tvam bhartum* ; N<sub>1</sub> *tvam bhaktum* ; N<sub>3</sub> *tvam jñātum* ; T<sub>1</sub> *jīvatum* ] ;  
*majjitum*—1.123.68<sup>d</sup> ( T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>4.6</sub> *majjanārtham* ) ;  
*upāramitum*—1.98.10<sup>d</sup> ( S *yathā yuktam tathā kuru* for *upāramitum arhasi* ) ;  
*adhirohitum*—3.109.13<sup>d</sup>  
*śapitum*—3.55.10<sup>d</sup> ( T<sub>1</sub> śāsitum ; G<sub>4</sub> vāsitum ) ;  
*viśahitum*—1.197.18<sup>c</sup> ( The form is not incorrect but rare ) ;  
*sarṣitum*—4.53.59<sup>d</sup> ;  
*vyāpasarṣitum*—4.53.68<sup>d</sup> ;

##### II ANIT FOR SET.

- krāntum*—3.267.27<sup>c</sup> ;  
*grastum*—5.16.20<sup>d</sup> ( BD<sub>n</sub> D<sub>5</sub> D<sub>7.8</sub> *anāśayat* ) ;  
*cartum*—3.193.14<sup>a</sup> ( B<sub>1.3.4</sub> D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>1.2</sub> S *taptum* ) ; 4.509<sup>x.4</sup> ( G<sub>1</sub> *vicaritum* ; M<sub>2</sub> *sarvān* ) ;  
*saṁparicartum*—4.267<sup>x.10</sup> ;  
*tartum*—1.145.40<sup>b</sup> [ M *tad vi* ( M<sub>5</sub> °syā ) *mokṣaṇe* for *tartum āpadam* ] ; 3.917<sup>x.1</sup> ; 4.13.19<sup>c</sup> ( KD<sub>7</sub> *kartum* ; S *laṅghitum* ) ;  
 4.275<sup>x.1</sup> ;  
*avaltartum*—1.59.1<sup>c</sup> ; 3.260.8<sup>c</sup> ( K<sub>1-3</sub> B<sub>1</sub> D<sub>1</sub> M<sub>2</sub> *avateruḥ* ; T<sub>1</sub> *avātaran* ) ;  
*utlartum*—4.44.14<sup>d</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> *gantum* ; D<sub>n1</sub> D<sub>7</sub> C<sub>n.8</sub> *utsartum* ; D<sub>n2</sub> D<sub>9.11.13</sub> T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>2</sub> M<sub>2.8</sub> *uddhartum* ) ;

3. New lines of investigation in Indian linguistics by Dr. KATRE, *Annals BORI.* XX 276-92.

4. WHITNEY : *Sanskrit Grammar*. 360. § 995.



*nistartum*—1.41.10<sup>c</sup>; 5.127.15<sup>c</sup>;  
*vettum*<sup>3</sup>—1.78.5<sup>d</sup> (K<sub>1</sub> jñātum; N<sub>3</sub> (sup lin. sec m.) D<sub>6</sub> śrotum);  
 3.34.48<sup>c</sup> (Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1</sub> jetum); 5.2.4<sup>a</sup> (M<sub>2</sub> tāvat); 5.63.3<sup>d</sup> (T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>2</sub>  
*veditum*; K<sub>4</sub> BD jetum); 5.162.15<sup>d</sup> (K<sub>1.2</sub> D<sub>1.2.7</sub> śrotum);  
 5.193.25<sup>d</sup>;  
*saṁvartum*—3.36.22<sup>d</sup> (T<sub>1</sub> saṁhartum; T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>2.4</sub> saṁyañtum; G<sub>1</sub>  
 saṁyātum); 4.2.21<sup>d</sup> (K<sub>2</sub> saṁvṛtau; S gūhitam; M<sub>1</sub> goptum);  
*praśāstum*—5.158.41<sup>c</sup>;

### III SIMPLEX FOR CAUSATIVE.

*ativartitum*—5.193.52<sup>b</sup>;  
*nivartitum*—5.187.17<sup>d</sup>;  
*saritum*—1.221.5<sup>d</sup> (N<sub>1</sub> gantum; B<sub>8</sub> āgantum; Nilp *niḥsārayitum*);

### IV CAUSATIVE FOR SIMPLEX.

*kārayitum*—1.80.27<sup>d</sup> (M<sub>3.5</sub> kaliyuge); 5.176.12<sup>d</sup>;  
*pratigrāhayitum*—1.39.24<sup>d</sup>;  
*pradāpitum*—5.175.22<sup>d</sup> (K<sub>4</sub> yaviyase; K<sub>1.2</sub> D<sub>2.7</sub> pradāya vai;  
 K<sub>2m</sub> 3.4 BD<sub>n</sub> D<sub>8</sub> D<sub>3.4.6.8.10</sub> dātum);  
*viśeṣayitum*—5.187.2<sup>c</sup>; 5.187.8<sup>b</sup>;

### V MISCELLANEOUS.

*asitum*—(for bhavitum); 3.219.12<sup>d</sup>; 5.111.23<sup>d</sup>;  
*upāsitum*—3.251.17<sup>d</sup>;  
*pratisamāsitum*—5.80.11<sup>d</sup> [T<sub>2</sub> (inf. lin.) G<sub>1</sub> °samādhritum];  
*upaitum*—(for upetum); 3.95.22<sup>d</sup>; 3.264.59<sup>d</sup> (K<sub>1.4</sub> B<sub>3.4</sub> D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>1.2</sub> G<sub>2</sub>  
*upetum*);  
*baddhum*<sup>6</sup>—(for bandhum); 1.3.21 [K<sub>1</sub> om.; B<sub>1m.4</sub> D<sub>1.6.7</sub> T<sub>2</sub>  
 G<sub>2.5</sub> M (except M<sub>1.2</sub>) *bandhum*]; 3.135.37<sup>a</sup> (Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1-3</sub> D<sub>3.5</sub>  
 roddhum; G<sub>1.2</sub> M *bandhum*);  
*niyacchitum*—(for niyantum); 3.98.11<sup>d</sup> (D<sub>5</sub> nigūhitum; S nātmanam  
 sobhyadhārayat);  
*āviśatum*—(for āveṣtum) 1.222.10<sup>d</sup> (K<sub>2.3</sub> N<sub>V1</sub> B<sub>1.3.5.8</sub> D<sub>a</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>1.4</sub>  
*praveṣtum*);  
*varayitum* (for varitum) 1.35.13<sup>b</sup>;  
*veddhum*<sup>6</sup>—(for vyaddhum) 1.1838<sup>x.1</sup>;  
*pravṛjīyitum*<sup>7</sup>—(for pravṛjayitum) 3.173.14<sup>c</sup> [BD (except D<sub>1.2.7.8</sub>)  
 prāvā (D<sub>31</sub> °vra) jyam aham; C<sub>a.d.5</sub> *pravṛjayitum*];  
*āśvasitum*—(for āśvasitum) 3.78.10<sup>c</sup> (BD<sub>m2.3</sub> D<sub>3.4.6</sub> G<sub>2</sub> M<sub>2</sub>  
*āśvasitum*);  
*āsaktum*<sup>6</sup>—(for āsāñktum) 5.156.8<sup>b</sup> [K<sub>4</sub> B (except B<sub>5</sub>) D<sub>m1</sub> D<sub>5</sub>  
 D<sub>3.4.6.8.10</sub> M<sub>1</sub> (inf. lin.) ādhātum.]

5. This form is an outcome of confusion between *vid-* belonging to different five conjugations.

6. These forms are made following the analogy of the formation of the past passive participles of those respective roots.

7. Change of conjugation.

*avasāditum*—(for *avasādayitum*) 4·27·6<sup>c</sup> (S na viśidanti te pārthāḥ) ;  
*sūcitum*<sup>7</sup>—(for *sūcayitum*) 1·1046<sup>x</sup>·2 ;

## GERUNDS

I TVĀ FOR YA<sup>8</sup>.

*prāpayitvā*—1·71·52<sup>a</sup> [ B<sub>1,3</sub> D (except D<sub>3,5</sub>) *prāpya* vidvān ; TG  
*prāpya* tivrām ; M<sub>3,5</sub> *prāpyate* yām ; M<sub>6-8</sub> *prāpya* tām ca<sup>1</sup> ;  
 1·189·25<sup>d</sup> [ K<sub>2</sub> V<sub>1</sub> B (except B<sub>6</sub>) D<sub>2</sub> *prāpya* c. iva ] ;

*apakṛtvā*—5 38·8<sup>a</sup> ( B D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>5</sub> D<sub>10</sub> T<sub>1</sub> *apakṛtya* ) ;

*alanikṛtvā*—1·507<sup>x</sup>·3 ;

*āgaskṛtvā*—1·48·15<sup>d</sup> ( D<sub>3</sub> *agre* kṛtvā ; D<sub>6</sub> *namaskṛtya* ) ;

*upakṛtvā*—5·44·11<sup>a</sup> ( S *kṛtam* iti ; B<sub>1,3-5</sub> D<sub>n</sub> C<sub>2</sub> *anupākṛtya* ; B<sub>2</sub> D<sub>3-6</sub>  
*anupākṛtya* ; D<sub>5</sub> *anupākṛtya* ; D<sub>2</sub> *upakṛtya* ; D<sub>7</sub> *anupakṛtya* ) ;

*namskṛtvā*—1·12<sup>x</sup>·2 ; 1·58·3 ( K D<sub>2,3-5</sub> *namskṛtya* ) ;

1·59·9<sup>b</sup> [ K B<sub>1,4-5</sub> D (except D<sub>6</sub> D<sub>3</sub>) *nskṛtya* ] ;

3·170·41<sup>a</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> K D<sub>1-3,5</sub> *namskṛtya* ;

3·186·13<sup>b</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1,2</sub> D<sub>1-3,5</sub> G<sub>2,4</sub> *namaskṛtya* ) ;

4·1144<sup>x</sup>·3 ; 5·47·84<sup>a</sup> ;

5·48·4<sup>a</sup> [ K<sub>1,5</sub> B D (except D<sub>9-10</sub>) T G (except G<sub>3</sub>) M<sub>1,2</sub>  
*nskṛtya* ] ;

5·118·6<sup>b</sup> [ N (D<sub>m2</sub> missing) T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>2</sub> M<sub>1,2</sub> *namaskṛtya* ] ;

5·162·7<sup>a</sup> [ K (except K<sub>4</sub>) B<sub>5</sub> D<sub>5</sub> D<sub>1,2</sub> T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>2,5</sub> *namaskṛtya* ] ;

*peṣikṛtvā*—1·700<sup>x</sup>·6 [ Nilp (and D<sub>n</sub> erroneously) *peṣikṛtvā* ; Nil.  
 read probably *peṣikṛtya* ] ;

*prakṛtayitvā*—4·10·9<sup>b</sup> [ B (except B<sub>6</sub>) D<sub>5</sub> Cap *prakṛtayisye* ;  
 D<sub>1</sub> *prakṛtya* rājñāḥ ; D<sub>2</sub> *prāptam* hi rājñāḥ ; C<sub>6</sub> *prakṛtitaṁ* ;  
 C<sub>n,5</sub> *tatkṛtanaṁ* ; C<sub>v</sub> *kṛtayitvā* ] ;

*vikalpāyitvā*—3·256·10<sup>a</sup> ;

*anugatvā*—1·133·24<sup>a</sup> [ Ñ V<sub>1</sub> B D (except D<sub>5</sub>) T<sub>1</sub> *anugamyā* ] ;

*abhigatvā*—3·32<sup>x</sup>·1 ; 3·82·126<sup>a</sup> [ N (except D<sub>1,3</sub>) M<sub>2</sub> *abhigamyā* ] ;

*pragṛhṭvā*—4·931<sup>x</sup>·1 ;

*pratisamgrhṭvā*—1·185·21<sup>d</sup> [ Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1</sub> *pragṛhṭvān* sah ;  
 K<sub>2</sub> *api sampragṛhya* ; K<sub>3</sub> *pratisamnigṛhya* ; K<sub>4</sub> Ñ<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> B<sub>1,3</sub> G<sub>3,6</sub>  
 M<sub>6-8</sub> *pratisamgrhāna* ; Ñ<sub>2,3</sub> B<sub>5,6</sub> D (except D<sub>5</sub>) ; *pratigṛhya*  
*harsāt* ; TG<sub>1,3,4</sub> M<sub>3</sub> *pratigṛhya* tatra ; M<sub>5</sub> (inf. lin.) 5 ;  
*pratijagrāha* caiva ] ;

*ācchādayitvā*—4·63·22<sup>a</sup> ( D<sub>1</sub> *prasādayāmāsa* ) ;

8. WHITNEY in his *Sanskrit grammar* mentions the following peculiarities in Vedic literature. *pratyapayitvā* (AV) ; *samīrayitvā* (MS) ; *virocayitvā* (TA) ; *utkṛptvā* (U) ; *pratyuktvā* (E) ; *pratyasitvā* (S) and states that this type of gerunds is met with in considerable numbers from AV (only one) down. The great majority of them are made from the causative stem. 335 § 990<sup>c</sup> ; for other examples see Rāmāyaṇa. *samīrodāyitvā* 6·101·43<sup>c</sup> ; *samācayitvā* 7·31·44<sup>c</sup> etc. etc ; cf. Mehendale: Absolutives in the Critical Edition of Virāṭa B D C R I. 71-3.

- saṃjīvayitvā*—1.90.92 [  $K_4 \hat{N}_1$  BD (except  $D_a$ ) *jīvayitvā*; S nāma tasyākaroṭ subhadrā ] ;
- vitṛṣayitvā*—4.34.7 (  $D_6$  *vitṛṣya* );  
4.57.16<sup>a</sup> (  $B_2 D_6$  *vitṛṣya*; S *vidrāvya* );
- pradattvā*—1.1426<sup>x</sup>.1 (  $M_3$  *prādaya*;  $T_2 G_{3.4.5}$  *datvā* );
- upādāpayitvā*—3.118.17<sup>c</sup> ;
- ānayitvā*—1.66.12<sup>c</sup>; 3.281.77<sup>a</sup> (  $G_{2.4}$  *ānayasva iha* )
- niṣṭānitvā*—1.85.18<sup>a</sup> ;
- pratipādāyitvā*—5.71.36<sup>b</sup> [  $K_1$  S (except  $T_2$ ) <sup>o</sup>*pādayasva*;  $K_2$  <sup>o</sup>*pādayāmi*;  $D_{7.10}$  <sup>o</sup>*pādayadhvam* ] ;
- sāṃpūrjayitvā*—1.54.15<sup>a</sup> [  $\hat{N}_2 V_1$  BD (  $D_a$  om.)  $TG_{4-6}$  *pūjayitvā* ] ;
- āpṛṣṭvā*—1.133.4<sup>a</sup> (  $\hat{S}_1$  *tathā drṣṭvā*;  $\hat{N}_2$  *tathāpṛcchya* );
- paripṛṣṭvā*—4.880<sup>x</sup>.1 ;
- anubuddhvā*—1.131.11<sup>b</sup> (  $K_0$  *atha badhvā*;  $K_{2.4} \hat{N}_2 V_1 B_{3.5m.6}$   $D_a D_{n1} D_4$  *anubudhya*;  $K_3 TG_{1.2.4.5} M_3$  *avabudhya*;  $\hat{N}_1$  *anubuddho*;  $D_5$  *atha buddhvā*;  $G_3$  *atha budhyā*;  $G_6$  *abudhyata*;  $M_{6-7}$  *anubudhyā* );
- sambhāṣitvā*—5.557<sup>x</sup>.1 ;
- nyagbhūtā*—5.229<sup>x</sup>.1 (  $K_4 D_{3.7.8}$  <sup>o</sup>*bhūtaḥ* )
- āmantrayitvā*—1.73.23<sup>c</sup>; 4.1119<sup>x</sup>.1 ;
- abhiyātā*—4.29.8<sup>c</sup> [  $\hat{S}_1 D_5$  *abhiyāya* (  $\hat{S}_1$  sup. lin. *arpayitvā* );  $BD_n D_{2.3.10-12}$  *abhiyāyāmaḥ*;  $D_{1.3}$  *abhiyāyāmi*;  $D_6$  *api yāyāmaḥ* ] ;
- upayātā*—3.17.1<sup>a</sup> (  $D_2$  *upetyatha*;  $D_3$  *upayāya*;  $K_2 BD_{c2} D_n$   $D_{4-6}$  *upayāto*;  $K_3$  *upāyātha*;  $D_1$  *upeyāya* );
- niryātā*—4.650<sup>x</sup>.3 ;
- prayātā*—4.1043<sup>x</sup>.11 ;
- ārādhayitvā*—3.192.19<sup>c</sup> ;
- abhivādayitvā*—5.174.25<sup>a</sup> [  $K$  (except  $K_4$ )  $D_{1.2.7}$  *abhivādaye* ] ;
- nivdayitvā*—1.632<sup>x</sup>.1 ;
- āvaritvā*—3.570<sup>x</sup>.2 ;
- nivartayitvā*—3.281.59<sup>c</sup> (  $D_6$  *nivartya* );
- samveṣṭayitvā*—3.186.75<sup>c</sup> (  $D_6$  *samveṣṭya* );
- viśālayitvā*—4.49.17<sup>b</sup> (  $K_1 B_3$  *viśātayet*;  $B_{2.4.5} D_{1.4-6.8}$  *viśātayan*;  $D_7$  *vipātayan* );
- anusiṣṭvā*—1.133.24<sup>a</sup> (  $\hat{S}_1 K B_6 D_a D_5 G_1 M_{6-8} C_d$  *anusiṣya*;  $\hat{N} V_1 B_{1.3.6} D_n D_{1.2.4}$  <sup>o</sup>*śikṣya* );
- āśvāsayitvā*—4.407<sup>x</sup>.1 ;
- visarjayitvā*—3.111.13<sup>a</sup> [  $S_1 K_{1.2}$  *vimṛṣya veśyā*;  $K_{3.4} D_{3.5}$  *visṛjya ve* (  $K_3$  *vai* ) *śyā*;  $D_{1.3}$  *vihāya rājan* ] ; 3.242.24<sup>a</sup> [  $B$  (except  $B_1$ )  $D_n D_{1-6} G_8$  *visṛjya*;  $B_4$  *visarjayāmāṣa* ] ; 3.292.24<sup>a</sup>; 5.135.28<sup>a</sup> ;
- saṃstambhayitvā*—3.124.18<sup>a</sup> (  $K_{2-4} B D_c D_n D_{2-6}$  *stambhayitvā*;  $D_{1.2}$  *stambhayāmāṣā* );

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*arcya*—3·81·21<sup>b</sup>; 3·82·35<sup>b</sup> (BD<sub>c</sub> D<sub>4,5</sub> *abhyarcya*; M<sub>2</sub> *arcayitvā*);  
5·17·2<sup>a</sup> [S *tatra* (T<sub>2</sub> *atha*)];

*ikṣya*—1·189·38<sup>e</sup> (Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1</sub> D<sub>5</sub> *samavekṣya*; K<sub>0</sub> 3·4 *prasamīkṣya*; K<sub>2</sub> *samīkṣya*; N̄<sub>2,3</sub> BD<sub>a</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>1,2,4</sub> *abhiṣīkṣya*); 3·184·4<sup>b</sup> (S D<sub>5</sub> omit. *ikṣya*); 4·61·24<sup>a</sup> (B<sub>5</sub> TG<sub>2</sub> *niśamya*; G<sub>3</sub> *prasamīkṣya*; M<sub>1</sub> *hi samīkṣya*);

*vyūhya*—5·161·11<sup>c</sup>;

*krṣya*—5·185·10<sup>c</sup> (D<sub>2</sub> *ākrṣya*);

*grhya*—1·2·93<sup>a</sup> [K<sub>4</sub> V<sub>1</sub> D *grhītvā* (D<sub>2</sub> *dattvā*)]; 1·107<sup>x</sup>·2; 1·9·19<sup>d</sup> (D<sub>1</sub> *pragrhya*); 1·242<sup>x</sup>·1; 1·39·23<sup>c</sup>; 1·39·30<sup>a</sup>; 1·739<sup>x</sup>·1;  
1·1266<sup>x</sup>·2; 1·119·16<sup>b</sup> (K<sub>0</sub> *nigrhya*); 1·105<sup>c</sup> [S (M<sub>0-4</sub> om) ājarhur dhanadhānyāni];

1·123·12<sup>b</sup> (Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1</sub> ādāya; T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>4,5</sub> M *saṃgrhya*);

1·123·16<sup>a</sup> (T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>4,5</sub> *tatropakaraṇagrāhī*);

1·123·50<sup>b</sup> (T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>1,4,5</sub> *grhītvā*);

1·124·20<sup>c</sup> (Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1</sub> ādāya; T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3,4,5</sub> *grhītvā*);

1·1412<sup>x</sup>·8; 1·151·23<sup>b</sup> (T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>4-6</sub> M ādāya); 1·1538<sup>x</sup>·2; 1·1861<sup>x</sup>·4;

1·185·4<sup>a</sup> [K<sub>4</sub> N̄<sub>2,3</sub> B<sub>5,6</sub> D (except D<sub>4</sub>) G<sub>1</sub> *pragrhya*; B<sub>1,3</sub> *grhītvā*];

1·218·29<sup>a</sup> [K<sub>2</sub> N̄<sub>2,3</sub> BD (except D<sub>2</sub>) ādāya (B<sub>5</sub> āśāya)];

1·218·34<sup>d</sup> [K<sub>2</sub> N̄<sub>2,3</sub> BD (except D<sub>1,2</sub>) ādāya];

3·12·59<sup>b</sup> (S *bhīmaseno* for *grhya madhye*);

3·76·18<sup>a</sup> (K<sub>2</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>5</sub> *grhītvā*); 3·106·10<sup>c</sup>; 3·106·29<sup>c</sup>; 3·112·12<sup>b</sup> (Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1,2</sub> *grhṇāti*);

3·113·14<sup>b</sup> (K<sub>4</sub> B D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>4-6</sub> *grhītvā*; D<sub>1,2</sub> *vihāya*<sup>1</sup>; S *pragrhya*);

3·132·16<sup>c</sup> (Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1,2</sub> *grhyamāpo*);

3·134·23<sup>d</sup> (TG *nigrhya*; K<sub>4</sub> D<sub>3,5</sub> *nītvā*); 3·146·15<sup>a</sup>;

3·159·14<sup>c</sup> [K<sub>4</sub> *ca sadā* K<sub>4</sub> (marg. sec. m) D<sub>1-3,5</sub> *upādāya*; BD<sub>c</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>4,6</sub> *matpresyāḥ*];

3·219·37<sup>b</sup> (T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1,4</sub> M *pibati prabho* for *grhya gacchati*);

3·234·20<sup>c</sup>; 3·262·29<sup>e</sup>; 3·266·12<sup>c</sup>; 3·1317<sup>x</sup>·2;

4·753<sup>x</sup>·2 (B<sub>2</sub> D<sub>6</sub> *sarvān*); 4·47·16<sup>d</sup> (S ādāya);

4·1046<sup>x</sup>·5 (T *grhṇan*); 5·19·7<sup>a</sup>;

5·42·12<sup>c</sup> [K<sub>1</sub> B<sub>1-3</sub> C<sub>a-5</sub> *avagrhya*; K<sub>4</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>1,4</sub> (both latter second time) 3·7·9 *anugrhya*; T<sub>2</sub> (second time) *pratigrhya*];

5·80·34<sup>d</sup>; 5·102·21<sup>a</sup>; 5·104·11<sup>c</sup> (K<sub>2</sub> D<sub>1</sub> *avagrhya*; T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>2</sub> *udgrhya*); 5·179·13<sup>a</sup>;

*cintya*—1·9·2<sup>d</sup> (D<sub>n</sub> *smrtvā*; D<sub>1</sub> *matvā*);

3·59·15<sup>c</sup> [T<sub>2</sub> G (except G<sub>1</sub>) M<sub>1</sub> *dhyātvā*; N *vicintya*]

3·207·11<sup>b</sup> (K<sub>3,4</sub> D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>2,3,5</sub> *cintayan*);

3·218·43<sup>c</sup> (K<sub>1,4</sub> D<sub>1-3,5</sub> *vicintya*; T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1,2,4</sub> M *saṃcintya*; K<sub>4</sub> *tām*); 4·404<sup>x</sup>·7 (G<sub>2</sub> M<sub>1</sub> *vicintya*);

9. WHITNEY quotes the following—*arcya* and *ikṣya* (M) *prohya* (AGS); *sihāhya* (Ś V U); for examples in Rāmāyaṇa sec. *grhya* 3·69·32<sup>a</sup>; 3·74·1<sup>a</sup> etc. etc.

5-170-8<sup>d</sup> [ K<sub>1,2,4,5</sub> D<sub>1,2,7</sub> nityam; K<sub>3</sub> B (B<sub>2</sub> missing) D<sub>m1</sub> D<sub>8,4,6,8,10</sub> eva ca ]; 5-193-1<sup>c</sup> (G<sub>2</sub> sarvam);

*acintya*—3-231-4<sup>a</sup>; 3-272-17<sup>b</sup> (K<sub>1,2</sub> *abhincintya*; D<sub>1</sub> *avicintya*);

*tudya*—1-1-139<sup>c</sup> (D<sub>6</sub> *ākṛṣya*);

*tuṣya*—3-30-44<sup>d</sup>; 5-411<sup>x</sup>.4;

*toṣya*—1-1-109<sup>b</sup>;

*tarpya*—3-80-93<sup>c</sup> (K<sub>1,4</sub> BD<sub>c</sub> D<sub>m2</sub> D<sub>1,2,6</sub> *tarpayitvā*; D<sub>3</sub> *saṁtarpya*);

*dr̥ṣya*—1-218-22<sup>b</sup> [ Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>0,1,3,4</sub> D<sub>1,2</sub> saroṣā (K<sub>0,4</sub> svaroṣā; D<sub>1</sub> saviṣā) gnidṛśocirāt; K<sub>2</sub> Ṇ<sub>3</sub> B<sub>1,5</sub> °gniviṣāvilān; Ṇ<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> D<sub>a</sub> svaroṣāgni-samanvitaiḥ (V<sub>1</sub> °samuddhataiḥ); Ṇ<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3,6</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>4,5</sub> °gnisamukṣitaiḥ; G<sub>6,8</sub> samakhecarān ] (for *dr̥ṣya* khecarān);

*pīḍya*—1-1835<sup>x</sup>.3; 3-40-49<sup>b</sup>; 3-111-17<sup>b</sup>;

*apīḍya*—5-112-5<sup>e</sup> (K<sub>1,2</sub> D<sub>1,7,8,10</sub> *apīḍayitvā*);

*bodhya*—3-1290<sup>x</sup>.7;

*mucya*—3-235-20<sup>a</sup> (K<sub>3,4</sub> BD G<sub>3</sub> muktaṁ; T<sub>2</sub> madhye);

*yamya*—3-297-55<sup>c</sup> (K<sub>1,2</sub> *yantvā*; ? *niyamya*; B<sub>2,3</sub> D<sub>c</sub> M<sub>1</sub> yasya);

*vācya* (with svasti)—1-212<sup>x</sup>.1; 1-176-32<sup>b</sup> (Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1</sub> vācayan); 1-1988<sup>x</sup>.1; 1-212-6<sup>d</sup>; 3-38-16<sup>d</sup>; 5-383<sup>x</sup>.1; 5-179-9<sup>c</sup>; 5-196-2<sup>d</sup>;

*uṣya*—1-71-58<sup>a</sup>; 3-77-1<sup>a</sup>; 3-77-27<sup>b</sup> [Ś<sub>1</sub> samājñāya; B<sub>1</sub> samāśliṣya];

3-80-56<sup>a</sup> (Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>4</sub> D<sub>1,2</sub> *proṣya*; K<sub>1</sub> prokṣya; BD<sub>n</sub> D<sub>4,6</sub> *uṣtvā*

(B<sub>1</sub> vyuṣya); K<sub>2</sub> D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>5</sub> *uṣitvā*; D<sub>3</sub> vasate);

3-80-59<sup>a</sup> [Ś<sub>1</sub> tatra; K<sub>1</sub> yadvā; BD<sub>4</sub> *uṣtvā* (B<sub>1</sub> vyuṣya) D<sub>c</sub> tasmāt];

3-80-61<sup>a</sup>; 3-80-75<sup>c</sup>; 3-81-13<sup>c</sup>;

3-81-18<sup>c</sup> (K<sub>2</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>5</sub> *upoṣya*);

3-82-27<sup>a</sup> (K<sub>1,2,4</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>6</sub> *upoṣya*);

3-82-41<sup>c</sup> (D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>4,6</sub> *upoṣya*; TG<sub>1-3</sub> M<sub>2</sub> *uṣitvā*);

3-82-49<sup>b</sup>; 3-82-62<sup>c</sup> (TG *uṣitvā*); 3-82-92<sup>c</sup>; 3-82-114<sup>c</sup>;

3-83-25<sup>c</sup> (Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1,2</sub> tasya; B<sub>2</sub> tac ca; B<sub>1,3,4</sub> D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>3,4,6</sub> *upoṣya*;

T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>2,4</sub> *uṣitvā*); 3-93-4<sup>b</sup>;

3-117-18<sup>c</sup> (Ś<sub>1</sub> *uṣitvā*; K<sub>1,2</sub> uṣitām);

3-128-18<sup>c</sup> (D<sub>1,2</sub> *uṣitvā*); 3-139-24<sup>c</sup>;

3-299-11<sup>c</sup> (D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>2</sub> asya); 4-535<sup>x</sup>.6; 4-881<sup>x</sup>.3;

5-132-32<sup>a</sup> (K<sub>1,3</sub> dṛṣṭaḥ; K<sub>3</sub> D<sub>7</sub> hr̥ṣṭaḥ; D<sub>2,4,6</sub> hr̥ṣṭam);

*śodhya*—1-1478<sup>x</sup>.1;

*sabhājya*—1-72-22<sup>c</sup> (Ṇ<sub>1</sub> samāgamya);

3-195-33<sup>a</sup> (BD<sub>c1</sub> D<sub>m1, m3</sub> D<sub>4,6</sub> sambhāṣya; D<sub>c2</sub> D<sub>m3</sub> D<sub>5</sub>

sambhāṣya; T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3</sub> prapūjya; T<sub>1</sub> sabhājyamāno);

*spṛṣya*—3-195-4<sup>d</sup> (S *spṛṣtvā*);

3-253-20<sup>c</sup> (K<sub>4</sub> pascāt; D<sub>1,3</sub> spṛṣet; T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>1,2,4</sub> rāgānvitah;

M rāgān narah (for spṛṣyāccchubham);

3-261-49<sup>d</sup> (K<sub>4</sub> saṁspṛṣya; S (except G<sub>3</sub>) *spṛṣtvā*);

5-97-10<sup>c</sup> (D<sub>6,8</sub> saṁspṛṣan);

*ahatya*—5-146-33<sup>c</sup> (K D<sub>3,7,9</sub> ahinadharmam; D<sub>1</sub> ihānyadharmam;

D<sub>3,4</sub> ihaitya; T<sub>1</sub> adhityam; T<sub>2</sub> GM adhitya);

## III SET FOR ANIT

*smayitvā*—3·224·17<sup>a</sup> (D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>b</sub> *smitam* kṛtvā; G<sub>2</sub> *sāntvayitvā*);  
4·637<sup>x</sup>·4;

*svajitvā*—3·224·3<sup>b</sup> (K<sub>3</sub> *jītvā* ca; D<sub>1</sub> *arcitvā*; T<sub>1</sub> *rañjītvā*; G<sub>1</sub> *śasvaje*);

## IV ANIT FOR SET

*japitvā*<sup>10</sup>—5·142·30<sup>a</sup>;

## V SIMPLEX FOR CAUSATIVE

*visṭīrya*—1·149<sup>a</sup> (K<sub>0</sub> D<sub>2-6,9,11,12</sub> G<sub>2-3</sub> *visṭīrya*);

## VI CAUSATIVE FOR SIMPLEX

*krīḍavītvā*—1·1593<sup>x</sup>·1;

*āgamayya*—1·3·134 (K<sub>3</sub> *Ā*<sub>2</sub> B<sub>4,5</sub> *āgamyā*; K<sub>1</sub> D<sub>1</sub> *avagamyā*; D<sub>n</sub>  
D<sub>1</sub> *ālakṣya*; T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>2,3</sub> M<sub>3</sub> *jñātvā*; M<sub>2,4,5</sub> *ajñātvā*);

*pratigrāhya*—3·45·2<sup>b</sup> [K (except K<sub>2</sub>) D<sub>1,3</sub> TG<sub>2,3</sub> M<sub>1</sub> *°grāhya*];  
5·116·17<sup>a</sup>;

*paricārya*—3·71·29<sup>b</sup> (Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1,3,4</sub> B<sub>1,2,4</sub> D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>3,4,6</sub> *paricārya*; K<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>c</sub>  
*upacārya*; D<sub>2</sub> *parivārya*);

*anujñāpya*—1·404<sup>x</sup>·2; 1·55·16<sup>c</sup>; 1·222·8<sup>c</sup> [Ś<sub>1</sub> D<sub>1,2</sub> S (except G<sub>1</sub>)  
*anujñāya*; B<sub>3</sub> *anuprāpya*]; 1·225·14<sup>c</sup> [Ś<sub>1</sub> K (except K<sub>2</sub>) T<sub>3</sub> G<sub>3,4</sub>  
*anujñāya*]; 3·96·8<sup>c</sup>; 3·98·12<sup>b</sup>; 3·103·18<sup>a</sup>; 3·105·8<sup>c</sup>; 3·185·33<sup>d</sup>;  
5·87·2<sup>b</sup>;

*abhyanujñāpya*—1·205·30<sup>a</sup> (K<sub>3</sub> *Ā*<sub>2</sub> D<sub>n</sub> *°nujñāya*; 1·210·11<sup>a</sup> [Ā V<sub>1</sub> BD  
(except D<sub>3</sub>) *°jñāya*; S (except M<sub>4-6</sub>) *°jñātavān*]; 3·83·96<sup>a</sup>  
[Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1,2</sub> D<sub>c</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>3</sub> *°nujñāya*; S (except M<sub>2</sub>) *°jñātah*];

*ājñāpya*—3·101·11<sup>c</sup> (B<sub>1</sub> *āsṛitya*);

*samanujñāpya*—3·91·16<sup>a</sup> (K<sub>2</sub> TG<sub>3,4</sub> *°prāpya*); 5·87·21<sup>c</sup>;

*dikṣayitvā*—5·160·6<sup>d</sup>;

*vidārya*—1·20·4<sup>d</sup>; 3·17·15<sup>b</sup> (K<sub>2</sub> B D<sub>4,6</sub> *vidīrya*; Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>3</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>1-3,5</sub>  
*nivārya*); 3·23·19<sup>b</sup> (M<sub>2</sub> *vipātya*); 3·103·12<sup>c</sup>; 3·105·24<sup>c</sup> (M<sub>2</sub>  
*pravistās*); 4·61·28<sup>b</sup>;

*vinādyā*—4·61·27<sup>a</sup>; (Ś<sub>1</sub> *vinadya*); 4·61·28<sup>a</sup>;

*abhyavanāmya*—3·112·12<sup>b</sup> (Ś<sub>1</sub> TG<sub>2-3</sub> M *°namya*);

*avanāmya*—3·111·16<sup>b</sup> [Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1,2</sub> S (except G<sub>1</sub> M<sub>3</sub>) *avanāmya*];

*ānāyya*—1·106·13<sup>b</sup> [Ā<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3,5m</sub> D (except D<sub>2,4,5</sub>) *ānīya*]; 1·1137<sup>x</sup>·1  
(G<sub>3</sub> *ānīya*); 1·166·24<sup>b</sup> (T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>2</sub> *ahūya*); 1·194·25<sup>a</sup> [D<sub>m</sub> T<sub>1</sub>  
G<sub>1,2</sub> M (except M<sub>3</sub>) *ānīya*];

3·57·4<sup>b</sup> (K<sub>4</sub> *āsādyā*; D<sub>1,3</sub> *ānīya*); 3·65·34<sup>a</sup>;

3·68·20<sup>a</sup> (T<sub>1</sub> *ānīya*; K<sub>2</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>2-6</sub> *ābhāṣya*); 3·76·9<sup>a</sup>;

3·220·18<sup>d</sup> (B<sub>1</sub> *apyati*; B<sub>4</sub> *evāśya*; D<sub>m</sub> *apyatha*; D<sub>5</sub> *ānamya*);

3·241·24<sup>c</sup> (K<sub>4</sub> D<sub>2</sub> *samāsādyā*; D<sub>4</sub> G<sub>3</sub> *°nīya*; T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>1</sub> *°hūya*);

3·261·30<sup>c</sup> (D<sub>m</sub> D<sub>2</sub> *ānadya*); 5·145·4<sup>a</sup>; 5·154·10<sup>a</sup>; 5·556<sup>x</sup>·6;

*āpāḍvya*—5·196·2<sup>a</sup>;

*upāpāḍvya*—4·1175<sup>x</sup>·2;

*upāvarṭya*—3-223-17<sup>c</sup> (K<sub>1</sub> B<sub>4</sub> D<sub>2,3</sub> T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1,3,4</sub> °*vrṭya*);  
*veṣṭayitvā*—1-411<sup>x</sup>.1;  
*abhivishṭasya*—3-110-31<sup>c</sup> (Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1,2</sub> D<sub>c</sub> °*viśvasya*; S °*viśvastam*);  
*vyavasāyā*—5-132-5<sup>b</sup> (D<sub>2</sub> vyavasthāya; S āgaccheyuh);  
*visṭṛya*—1-1950<sup>x</sup>.3;  
*ghātayitvā*—K<sub>1,2,4</sub> BD<sub>c</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>4-6</sub> M<sub>2</sub> piḍayitvā; T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3</sub> sāda<sup>o</sup>);

## VII

## MISCELLANEOUS.

*asitvā*—(for bhūtva; BD<sub>n</sub> D<sub>4,6</sub> G<sub>3</sub> sthitvā); 3-224-1<sup>d</sup>;  
*samāsyā*—3-660<sup>x</sup>.1;  
*upagūhya*—3-281-6<sup>b</sup> (K<sub>1</sub> D<sub>2</sub> T<sub>1</sub> *upagūhya*; K<sub>4</sub> B<sub>3</sub> D<sub>c</sub> T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>1,4</sub> °*grhya*;  
 B<sub>1,2,4</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>4,6</sub> G<sub>3</sub> °*gama*);  
 3-281-61<sup>b</sup> [N (except K<sub>1,3</sub> D<sub>5</sub>; K<sub>3</sub> D<sub>1</sub> missing) T<sub>2</sub> G °*grhya*];  
*cīrtvā*—(for caritvā); 5-107-12<sup>c</sup> (K<sub>3</sub> D<sub>2-4,9</sub> G<sub>3</sub> M<sub>1,2</sub> taptvā; K<sub>1,2</sub>  
 D<sub>3</sub> kṛtvā; D<sub>1,10</sub> citvā);  
*vicīya*—(for vicitya); 5-15-28<sup>d</sup> (B D<sub>52</sub> D<sub>2-4,8</sub> *vicitya*; K<sub>1</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>51</sub>  
 D<sub>3-7,9</sub> *vicintya*; K<sub>4,6</sub> vijagrāha; D<sub>1</sub> videsāms ca; D<sub>10</sub>  
 samanvisya); .  
*prātipīya*—5-37-18<sup>b</sup>;  
*avamanya*<sup>11</sup>—(for avamatya); 1-27-10<sup>d</sup> [T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>1-3,5</sub> M *ava* (M<sub>3,5</sub>  
 °*pa*) *matya*]; 1-68-32<sup>a</sup> [TG (except G<sub>2</sub>) M<sub>5-8</sub> °*matya*];  
 1-98-29<sup>c</sup> [S (except G<sub>8</sub>) *avamānāt*];  
 1-169-18<sup>a</sup> [S (except T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1</sub>) *avamatya*];  
 1-212-29<sup>a</sup> (S *avamatya*);  
 3-152-6<sup>b</sup> (S *avamatya*; B<sub>4</sub> *avagama*);  
 3-176-14<sup>b</sup> (S °*matya*); 3-177-9<sup>b</sup> (TG<sub>2-4</sub> M °*matya*);  
 3-253-8<sup>c</sup> (TG<sub>1,2,4</sub> M<sub>1</sub> *paribhūya*; M<sub>2</sub> *abhibhūya*);  
 3-254-20<sup>b</sup> (T<sub>1</sub> G<sub>1,4</sub> M<sub>1</sub> *avamatya*);  
 3-259-35<sup>c</sup> [S (except G<sub>3</sub>) *avamatya*];  
 3-261-47<sup>d</sup> (TG<sub>1,4</sub> M *avamatya*);  
 3-262-32<sup>a</sup> (G<sub>1,2,4</sub> M *avamatya*);  
 3-264-47<sup>d</sup> (G<sub>1,2,4</sub> M °*matya*);  
 3-266-9<sup>d</sup> [S (except T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3</sub>) °*matya*];  
 3-270-23<sup>c</sup> (T<sub>1</sub> M °*matya*; G<sub>1,2,4</sub> *abhipatya*);  
 5-193-42<sup>b</sup> (S D<sub>3,4</sub> °*matya*);  
*anavamanya*—3-287-11<sup>b</sup> (K<sub>1</sub> *nāvamanyata*; K<sub>2</sub> *manyata*; T<sub>1</sub> *mana-*  
*sāpi bho*; T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3,4</sub> *mahāvibho*; G<sub>1</sub> *na mayāmaya vibho*;  
 M *anavamatya*);  
*niśamya* (for niśamya) 1-17-28<sup>d</sup> [(N (except K<sub>0,1</sub> N<sub>6</sub>) G<sub>2,3,6</sub>  
*niśamya*);  
 1-18-2<sup>a</sup> [(K<sub>1,3</sub> N<sub>1-3</sub> V<sub>1</sub> BD (except D<sub>3,4</sub>) G<sub>2,3,6</sub> M<sub>1</sub> *niśamya*];  
 1-20-2<sup>a</sup> (K<sub>1</sub> N<sub>1,2</sub> V<sub>1</sub> B D<sub>6</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>1-3,7</sub> *niśamya*); 1-301<sup>x</sup>.4<sup>b</sup>;  
 1-1624<sup>x</sup>.1 [T<sub>2</sub> G (except G<sub>2</sub>) *niśamya*];  
 1-221-2<sup>a</sup> (Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1</sub> N V<sub>1</sub> BD T<sub>3</sub> G<sub>2-4</sub> M<sub>4</sub> *niśamya*);

3-31-19<sup>c</sup> [ K<sub>3</sub> BD<sub>2</sub> D<sub>5-6</sub> *niśamya* ; Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>3</sub> na śāmyati ( K<sub>3</sub> °te )];  
 3-73-6<sup>c</sup> [ Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1-2-4</sub> B<sub>1-3-4</sub> D<sub>n</sub> D<sub>5</sub> T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3</sub> *niśamya* ; K<sub>4</sub> ( by corr. ) D<sub>c</sub>  
*niśamya* ]; 3-170-51<sup>c</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1-2</sub> BD<sub>n</sub> D<sub>1-4-6</sub> M<sub>1</sub> *niśamya* ; D<sub>c</sub> ni-  
 yamya ); 5-39-14<sup>c</sup> [ K<sub>5</sub> BD<sub>n</sub> D<sub>3</sub> D<sub>2-7-10</sub> T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>1</sub> ( sup.lin. ) C<sub>2-3</sub>  
*niśamya* ; K<sub>1 m</sub> niścītya ; K<sub>4</sub> D<sub>3</sub> parikṣya ]];  
 5-71-33<sup>c</sup> [ K<sub>4</sub> BD ( except D<sub>1</sub> ) T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>3</sub> *niśa* ( D<sub>2</sub> °ya ) *mya* ]];  
 5-193-31<sup>c</sup> ( K<sub>1</sub> D<sub>7</sub> *niśamya* );

*praśāmya*—( for *praśamya* ) 5-93-52<sup>c</sup> ; 5-94-44<sup>c</sup> ;

5-127-53<sup>d</sup> ( D<sub>3-4-5</sub> *prasādyā* ); 5-136-9<sup>a</sup> ;

5-86-10<sup>d</sup> ; 5-126-49<sup>b</sup> ( K<sub>5</sub> *saṁgamya* );

*saṁniśāmya*—( for *saṁniśamya* ) 5-190-9<sup>b</sup> ( M *niśamya* ; D<sub>1-3-4</sub>  
*saṁniśamya* ; TG *niśamya* );

*anuśāsyā*—( for *anuśiśya* ) ; 3-153-28<sup>a</sup> ( BD<sub>n</sub> D<sub>4-6</sub> °śiśya ;

T<sub>1</sub> °yāsyasi ; G<sub>1</sub> °śāsaṁ ; M<sub>1</sub> °śāsyati ) ;

5-25-9<sup>a</sup> ( BD<sub>n</sub> D<sub>2-10</sub> *anuśiśya* );

*apāhāya* ( for *apahāya* ) 3-163-45<sup>c</sup> ( Ś<sub>1</sub> K<sub>4</sub> B<sub>4</sub> D<sub>1-2-3</sub> G<sub>1</sub> M *apāsyā* );

*namasya*<sup>12</sup>—5-13-3<sup>a</sup> ( K<sub>1-2</sub> BD<sub>n</sub> D<sub>3</sub> D<sub>1-3-8-10</sub> *praṇamya* ;

D<sub>5</sub> G<sub>4</sub> *namaskṛtya* ); 5-64-15<sup>b</sup> ; 5-142-23<sup>d</sup>.

#### VIII GERUNDS WITH FREQUENTATIVE BASE.

*caṅkramya*—5-108-15<sup>b</sup> ( D<sub>n1</sub> D<sub>2-4-9</sub> *saṅkramya* ; G<sub>2</sub> *vikramya* );

#### IX GERUND IN AM ( NAMUL )

*saṅkṣepam*—1-1-49<sup>b</sup> [ K V<sub>1</sub> B<sub>1m</sub> *saṅkṣepataḥ* ; BD ( D<sub>13</sub> missing ; D<sub>14</sub>  
 as in K etc. ) S ( except G<sub>1-3</sub> M<sub>3</sub> ) °kṣiṣya ] ;

*ādhyāyam*—1-91-8<sup>c</sup> ( N *dhyāyanti* ( Ś<sub>1</sub> as in text ; K<sub>2</sub>  
*dhyāyan* ) ; S ( except M<sub>1</sub> ) *dhyālvā* ) ;

*ānandam*—5-139-47<sup>c</sup>.

12. It is curious to note here, a gerund by adding *-ya* to the indeclinable *namas*.  
 ( cf. the denominative *namasyati* ).



## MISCELLANY

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### ĀŚĀDHARA'S KOVIDĀNANDA WITH KĀDAMBĪNĪ

In a note on pp. 37-39 in *NIA*, April, 1940, Sri N. V. ATHALEY refers to the above work, and after mentioning Aufrecht's reference to it in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, and Kane's in his Introduction to the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, says "but no reference to the existence of this work is found in any of the Oriental libraries in India." He then gives a description of its Ms. that had come to the library of the *Prācyagrantha Saṁgraha*, Ujjain and remarks that the work "deserves publication".

I desire to draw the attention of Śrī. ATHALEY and other scholars that *Āśādhara's Kovidānanda* with *Kādambinī* was appearing in print serially in the pages of the *Saṁskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Calcutta; the first instalment appeared in Vol. XIII, No. 1, May, 1930, p. 25.

*Madras.*

V. RAGHAVAN.

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### THE GAME "CHIKRI BILLA"

In *NIA*, June 1943, pp. 61-63, Sri Charu Chandra DAS GUPTA has a note about a type of game played in C. P., named *Chikri Billā*, meaning round brickbats, which consists of casting a round piece of brickbat or potsherd, jumping on one leg through a rectangular court drawn on the ground divided into six chambers and hopping on the potsherd and making one's scores in 'rounds' on the ground by one's own foot. The game is common in South India also, and is called *Pāṇḍi* in Tamil and *Trokkuḍu* (jumping on) *Billā* (a round piece).

*Madras.*

V. RAGHAVAN.

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## NOTES OF THE MONTH

*Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute.* It is a matter of great importance that this newly founded Research Institute in Allahabad is about to publish a quarterly journal the first issue of which will be published on November 17 this year, the anniversary of the late Mm. Dr. Ganganath's death. The vitality of Indological studies is vindicated by the entry of this new periodical in the world of journals at a time when, owing to the international situation, there is considerable paper shortage. That this publication is possible at such a juncture in the history of the world speaks volumes for the greatness of the departed scholar whose name is being perpetuated by the founding of this institution and the journal as its concrete symbol. We have every hope that this youngest Indological Journal will, before long, establish itself as one of the premier research publications in the country, and have great pleasure in printing below the announcement regarding its advent, with the belief that all true lovers of our ancient past and believers in the regeneration of that culture in the post-war reconstruction of the world will enlist themselves as subscribers, contributors and patrons.

### THE JOURNAL OF THE GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

It is just to bring before the notice of the Orientalists that the Ganganatha Jha Memorial Committee has decided to start the publication of a Quarterly Research Journal devoted to Oriental studies as the first active step towards the establishing of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute here at Allahabad and has appointed a provisional Board of Editors consisting of Professor R. D. RANADE (Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Allahabad University), Dr. A. SIDDIQI (Head of the Arabic and Persian Department, Allahabad University), and Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Umesha MISHRA (Allahabad University). The first number of the Journal will be published on November 17, 1943, the anniversary of the late Mm. Dr. Sir Ganganatha JHA's death. It will contain contributions from several eminent orientalists of the country, such as, Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR (Poona), Dr. S. K. DE (Dacca), Mm. Dr. Shama SASTRY (Mysore), Professor M. HIRIYANNA (Mysore), Professor K. S. KRISHNAN, F. R. S. (Allahabad), Dr. A. S. ALTEKAR (Benares), Professor K. A. Nilakanta SASTRI (Madras), Dr. B. BHATTACHARYYA (Baroda), Dr. S. M. KATRE (Poona), Professor K. R. PISCHAROTI (Ernakulum), Mr. P. K. GODE (Poona) and others.

The Board of Editors invites the attention of the lovers of Oriental scholarship to extend their patronage towards this youngest Journal in the field of oriental research by enlisting subscribers for the Journal and by encouraging it with their original contributions.

It has been decided to issue four numbers of the Journal annually in November, February, May, and August. The Journal will contain about 125 pages in Royal 8vo. size for the present and the annual subscription has been fixed at Rs. 12/-.

All communications regarding the Journal should be addressed to

Mahamahopadyaya Dr. Umesha MISHRA,

Secretary,

The Ganganatha Jha Memorial Committee,  
Allahabad.



That the country is waking at last from its age-long slumber in order to take her rightful place in the immediate regeneration of the human race and contribute constructively and actively to that noble end is again proved by a recent announcement of the forthcoming publication of *The Advent*, a quarterly devoted to the exposition of the philosophy and vision of Sri AUROBINDO in the development of the future. The first issue is listed to be published in November 1943, edited by Dr. R. VAIDYANATHASWAMI of the University of Madras and published by Sri Aurobindo Library, Cathedral P. O., Madras. The annual subscription is Rupees Five only. Among the chief contributors expected are Sri Nolini Kanta GUPTA, Sri V. CHANDRASEKHARAN, Sri Anilbaran ROY, Dr. K. R. Sreenivasa IYENGAR, Dr. Indra SEN, Swami Suddhanand BHARATI and others.

It is needless to add that the dynamic vision of Sri AUROBINDO of the future, where humanity as a whole takes a great forward leap divinising the vital and material aspect of life and bringing the supramental light of godhead down the lowest reaches of material consciousness, is just the push that is needed by a human race wearied by its incessant fight against the powers of darkness masquerading as nation builders and dictators bringing about war and misery, in order to recover its poise and stateliness, and establish the kingdom of heaven on this earth.

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## REVIEWS

*Sāpīṇḍya* or The Law of Sapiṇḍa Relationship (being a collection of two treatises of sāpīṇḍya and relevant extracts from authoritative works, together with an Introduction) by J. R. GHARPURE, B.A., LL.B. (Honours in Law) F.R.S.A., Principal, Law College, Poona 4 and Senior Advocate, Federal Court of India, Bombay, 1943. Pages 77 + 130. Size 6½" × 9½". (Published by V. J. Gharpure, M.A., LL.B., Office of the Collection of Hindu Law Texts, Angre's Wadi, Bombay 4).

The Volume before us is No. XXVII of the *Collection of Hindu Law Texts* Series started by Principal Gharpure many years ago and continued with a tenacity of purpose, coupled with an intensive study of Hindu Law which has made Principal Gharpure an authority on this branch of Law. As the founder and the first Principal of the Poona Law College, Principal Gharpure has shaped the careers of many aspiring lawyers during the last decade. As the stately pile of buildings near the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute known as the Law College (Poona) is a visible monument of Principal Gharpure's indefatigable industry and devotion to public service, the publication of the *Hindu Law Texts Series* continued for over a quarter of a century has rendered lasting service to the cause of Hindu law as it enshrines many important texts published for the benefit of the professional lawyers and the students of the Hindu Dharmaśāstra in general.

In the publication of the present volume the object of the author is to focus the attention of students on the Law of Sapiṇḍa relationship, which in Hindu Law is one of the most important topics having a practical bearing on the administration of justice. The volume consists of two Parts. *Part I* gives a general note in English on *Sāpīṇḍya* or the *Law of Sapiṇḍa Relationship*, containing remarks and discussions with translations from Sanskrit portions of texts incorporated in *Part II*. The contents of *Part II* include Nāgojibhaṭṭa's *Sāpīṇḍyapradīpa* and Śrīdharaḥṭṭa's *Sāpīṇḍyanirṇayadīpikā* together with pertinent extracts from many standard works on Dharmaśāstra like *Madanaparījāta* and others.

P. K. CODE.

*Dharma-Dvāita-Nirṇaya* (or Alternatives Solved by Saṅkarabhaṭṭa son of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, edited by Principal J. R. GHARPURE (1943); Pages 8 + 147. (*Hindu Law Texts* No. 28).

This edition of the *Dharma-dvāita-nirṇaya* is based on MSS. of the work available in the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, the Mandlik Collection of MSS. in the Fergusson College, Poona, and the Govt. Oriental Library, Mysore. As the present work is often referred to by Nilakanṭhabhaṭṭa the son of Saṅkarabhaṭṭa in his own work its publication will be of use to the legal practitioner as also to the students of the Hindu Law. Saṅkarabhaṭṭa, was the son of the celebrated Deccani Pandit Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa whose family migrated from the Deccan and settled at Benares very early. Principal Gharpure has given in the present volume a genealogy of the Bhaṭṭa family (p. 3 of this Introduction) which would be useful to the students of history who care to study the contribution of the Mahārāṣṭra to Sanskrit learning during the Mughal period.

The colophon of the B. O. R. Institute No. 74 of 1899-1915 reproduced by the editor (p. 4 of Intro.) records the date "संवत् १६२६ सुमानुनामसंवत्सरे आषाढशुद्ध-अष्टम्यां लिखितं पुस्तकमिदं". The year 1626 recorded here does not belong to the *Vikrama Samvat*. Had it been so the date of the copy would be A.D. 1569, which would have been an important date but unfortunately the name of *Vikrama Samvat* 1626 is "ईश्वर" and not "सुमानु" (Vide p. 341 of *Indian Ephemeris* Vol. V). The name of "शके १६२६" is सुमानु (Vide p. 209 of *Ind. Ephe.* Vol. VI.) and hence the MS was copied on *Friday, 11th June 1703* and not in A.D. 1569. All the same the MS is important as it is about 240 years old. I had a mind to point out the above facts regarding the date of the MS in a separate note but as the question has cropped up here I have made the above remarks with a view to prevent an impression that the MS is a contemporary copy. These remarks have become necessary as Prin. Gharpure has not made any remarks regarding the date of this MS which he has also reproduced at the end of the work (p. 147—"प्रथमसंख्या ५५०० सं. १६८६"). Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa refers to *Toḍarānanda* (p. 34) and to the द्वैतनिर्णय परिशिष्ट composed by his son Dāmodarabhaṭṭa (p. 135). The latter reference shows that the परिशिष्ट to his father's work was prepared by Dāmodarabhaṭṭa sometime before the completion of the *Dvaitanirṇaya* and hence it was available for reference in the present work at a time when the closing portion of the treatise was drafted by Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa. If this suggestion is accepted we have to suppose that the chronology of Dāmodara's परिशिष्ट is not much removed from the *Dvaitanirṇaya* itself.

P. K. CODE.

# DVIJARĀJODAYA : A FORGOTTEN DHARMA NIBANDHA IDENTIFICATION OF ITS AUTHOR WITH A GURU OF NĪLAKANTHA CATURDHARA

By

SADASHIVA L. KATRE, Ujjain.

KIELHORN in his *C. P. Catalogue*<sup>1</sup> briefly describes a MS in a private collection of a Dharmaśāstra work named *Dvijarājodaya* without mentioning its author's name. AUFRECHT while recording<sup>2</sup> this work refers only to the MS described by KIELHORN. P. V. KANE in his *List of Works on Dharmaśāstra*<sup>3</sup> simply records the name of this work, again without mentioning its author's name or noting its contents. Probably he had in his mind only the entry in AUFRECHT's CC based on KIELHORN's *C. P. Catalogue*. No other MS of the work could be traced by me in any of the published Catalogues of MSS available to me, nor has the office of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* at the Madras University, too, as Dr. V. RAGHAVAN informs me, yet gathered any information about the same. HIRALAL from his non-mention of the work in his *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākṛit MSS in C. P. and Berar* (Nagpur, 1926) appears not to have been able even to retrace the MS recorded by KIELHORN. The general neglect, though not deliberate, at the hands of scholars and of old patrons and modern custodians of MSS that has fallen to the lot of this work as well as the oblivion into which it appears to have sunk is possibly not justified in view of its many-sided importance which I shall presently try to show below briefly on the basis of a fresh MS of the work recently procured by me for the MSS Library of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain.

The MS (Accession No. 6125), though in a tolerably good condition, is extremely corrupt. It has suffered abnormally due to the scribes' clumsiness, uncautiousness and utter ignorance of Sanskrit. Almost every line is full of blunders; there appear numerous interminglings and double entries of words, lines and even long passages; lacunas, too, big or small, are visible at many places; and the author's extensive sectional colophon found at the close of many sections has been cut short in some cases and dropped altogether in the case of a number of concluding sections which have also been left unnumbered after Section 41. It seems unlikely that the author who prefixes the work with such a lengthy introduction would fail to add a concluding verse at the end. As no such verse or colophon is found at the close of the MS<sup>4</sup>, the impression is forced on the reader's mind that the MS is incomplete. The date and the names of the scribes who appear to be two or three in number are not found anywhere, but the MS is not very old in appear-

1. *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. existing in the Central Provinces* (Nagpur, 1874), P. 180.

2. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I (Leipzig, 1891), P. 265<sup>b</sup>.

3. *History of Dharmaśāstra* I (Poona 1930), P. 565<sup>a</sup>.

4. The MS ends as follows : " ..... दर्शनशब्दश्चाधुवज्ञानवचनः, न शास्त्रीयज्ञान-  
वचनः । निमित्तज्ञानस्यैव नैमित्तिकप्रयोजकत्वेन निमित्तत्वोक्त्यैव तल्लभात् । गोचरशब्दश्च न फलेपधान-  
परः, तत्काले एकस्यापि कर्मान्तरस्याशङ्क्यत्वात् किमुत बहुना, किं तु योग्यतापरः । तेन यच्चन्द्र-  
सूर्योपरागो यस्मिन्देशे यावत्सुर्मापराधुवज्ञानयोर्म्यः स तत्र देशे तावत्सुर्माधुवनिमित्तः ॥ ॥ ॥ "

- Folio 347<sup>a</sup>. The other half of the folio is blank. All the passages are cited by me in this paper after correcting the scribes' errors so far as possible.

ance. It consists of straw-paper sheets written in dark-black ink in the Devanāgarī script. Its dimensions, viz. 347 folios of the size 13×5 inches bearing on each side about ten lines with about forty-five letters on each line, would give a tolerable idea of the bulk of the work even in its present state.

The *Dvijarājodaya* is a treatise only on the Kālanirṃaya section of Dharmaśāstra and furnishes judicious decisions concerning the proper times for various religious acts etc. It is divided into several sections (=Prakāśas), designated as respective Mayūkhas, Udayas or Mayūkhodayas, of varied extents dealing with the religious technicalities of 1. Sāmvatsara (Folios 4<sup>a</sup>-7<sup>b</sup>), 2. Ayana (7<sup>b</sup>-8<sup>a</sup>), 3. Rtu (8<sup>a</sup>-9<sup>a</sup>), 4. Māsa and Pakṣa (9<sup>a</sup>-56<sup>a</sup>), 5. Divasa or Tithi in general (56<sup>a</sup>-72<sup>a</sup>), 6. Upavāsa-Pāraṇā (72<sup>a</sup>-73<sup>a</sup>), 7-37. the various Tithis, General, e.g., Pratipad, Dvitiyā etc., and Particular, e.g. Varṣapratipad, Yamadvitiyā etc. (73<sup>a</sup>-251<sup>a</sup>), 38-40. the Religious Festivals covering long durations e.g. Navarātra, Kaumudimahotsava or Dipāvalī, Holikā etc. (251<sup>a</sup>-282<sup>b</sup>), 41. Ekabhukta and Naktabhukta Vows (282<sup>b</sup>-288<sup>a</sup>), (Sections 42 ff unnumbered) the various Srāddhas e.g. Sāmvatsarika, Darśa, Mahālaya, Aṣṭakā, Anvaṣṭakā, etc. (288<sup>a</sup>-337<sup>a</sup>), Solar Sankrāntis (337<sup>a</sup>-344<sup>b</sup>), Solar and Lunar Eclipses (344<sup>b</sup>-347<sup>a</sup>), etc. with special reference to the legal times for performing the rites and ceremonies connected with each. The treatment of all these topics is exhaustive as can be easily guessed from the portion allotted to each.

The author throughout displays abundantly his vast erudition, admirable scholarship and complete mastery of Nyāya and Pūrvamīmāṃsā systems. In the course of his numerous scholastic and technical discussions he cites over 250 authorities, some of them numerous times, either to support his own views or to refute them after a critical exposition thereof and establish his own views in preference to them. Among the works and authors cited by him I could trace the following :—

अगस्त्यसंहिता, अग्निपुराण, अङ्गिरस, अनन्तभट्ट, अपरार्क, अमर, आचार्यचूडामणि, आदित्यपुराण, आपस्तम्ब, आपस्तम्बसूत्र, आपस्तम्बसूत्रभाष्यार्थसंग्रहकार, आश्वलायन, आश्वलायनकारिकाकृत्, आश्वलायनसूत्रचूडिकृत्, ईशानसंहिता, ऋष्यशृङ्ग, ऐतरेयब्राह्मण, कठब्राह्मण, कर्मप्रदीप, कल्पतरु, कल्पलता, कश्यप, काठकण्ड, काठकण्डपरिशिष्ट, कातीयसूत्र, कात्यायन, कात्यायनसूत्र, काणाजिनि, कालतत्त्वविवेचन, कालनिर्णयदीपिका, कालविवेक, कालादर्श, कालिकापुराण, काशीखण्ड, कर्मपुराण, कृत्यचिन्तामणि, कृष्णपण्डित, कोष, कौथुमि, कौषीतक, गरुडपुराण, गर्ग, गारुड, गार्ग्य, गालव, गुरुवः or गुरुचरणाः, गोपथब्राह्मण, गोभिल, गोभिलगृह्यभाष्य, गोभिलसूत्रभाष्य, गोविन्दराज, गौडाः, गौडनिबन्धाः, गौतम, चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि, चतुर्विंशतिमत, चमत्कारचिन्तामणि, चूडामणि, च्यवन, छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट, जातुकण्ठ, जाबालि, जीमूतवाहन, जैमिनि, ज्योतिर्बृहस्पति, ज्योतिःशास्त्र, ज्योतिषरत्नमाला, ज्योतिषसंहिता, ज्योतिःपराशर, ज्योतिःपितामह, टोडरानन्द, तत्त्वसागर, तन्त्ररत्न, तार्तीयोपसंहाराधिकरण, तिथितत्त्व, तैत्तिरीय, तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण, दक्ष, दक्षस्मृति, दाक्षिणात्याः, दाक्षिणात्यशिष्टिमन्याः, दाक्षिणात्यमहानिबन्धाः, दुर्गाभक्तिरत्नप्रदीप, दुर्गावतीप्रकाश, दुर्गास्तवप्रकरण, देवदास, देवदासप्रकाश, देवल, देवस्वामिन्, देवीपुराण, देवीमाहात्म्य, द्वादशीकल्प, धूर्तस्वामिन्, धौम्म, नन्दपुराण, नरपति, नवीनदाक्षिणात्याः, नागरखण्ड, नारद, नारदसंहिता, नारदीयपुराण, निगमसंग्रहपरिशिष्ट, निर्णयामृत, नृसिंहपुराण, नृसिंहप्रसाद, पद्मपुराण, परशुरामप्रसादकार, परिशिष्टप्रकाश,

5. Vide Folio 263<sup>b</sup> ".....अमायुक्ता न कर्तव्या प्रतिपत्युजने मम। मुहूर्तमात्रा कर्तव्या द्वितीयादिगुणान्विता ॥ यो मां पूजयते नित्यं द्वितीयादिगुणान्विते। प्रतिपच्छदि ज्ञाते सोऽस्तुते फलमव्ययम् ॥.....प्रतिपद्याग्निने मासि शुद्धे विदेऽथ भद्रया। पुण्याहवाचनं कृत्वा जपं पश्चात्समारभेत् ॥ इत्यादिपरशुरामप्रसादकारादिलिखितोत्तरविद्वत्प्रतिपद्विधायकपूर्वविद्वत्लिखेयकवाक्यनिचयाच्च etc."

It seems there is a distinct Dharmaśāstra work entitled *Paraśurāmaprasāda* although

परिशिष्टभाष्यकार, पाणिनि, पाणिनिस्मृति, पार्यसारयिमित्र, पितामह, पुराणसमुच्चय, पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय, पैङ्गय, पैठीनसिस्मृति, प्रचेतस, प्रजापति, प्रदोष, प्रभासखण्ड, प्रयोगपारिजात, प्राच्यादिनिबन्धाः, बृहचूट्यपरिशिष्ट, बादरायण, बृहथम, बृहद्वसिष्ठ, बृहन्नारदीय, बृहस्पति, बृहस्पतिसंहिता, बौधायन, बौधायनप्रायश्चित्त, बौधायनसूत्र, ब्रह्मपुराण, ब्रह्मवैवर्त, ब्रह्मसिद्धान्त, ब्रह्माण्डपुराण, भगवद्गीता, भट्टपादाः, भरद्वाज, भविष्यपुराण, भविष्यपुराण, भविष्योत्तर, भागवत, भारद्वाजस्मृति, भाष्यकार, भाष्यार्थसंग्रहकार, भास्कर, भीमपराक्रम, भृगु, भृगुपरिशिष्ट, मण्डन, मण्डनकारिका, मत्स्यपुराण, मत्स्यसूक्त, मदनरत्न, मनु, मरीचि, मल्लमासतत्त्व, महाभारत, महाभाष्यज्ञा, मात्स्य, माधव -माधवाचार्य, माधवीय, मार्कण्डेयपुराण, मिताक्षरा, मीमांसकाः, मूलज्योतिःशास्त्र, मेधातिथि, मैत्रेयसूत्र, मैत्रायणगृह्य, मैथिलाः, यज्ञपार्थ, यम, यमपुराण, याज्ञवल्क्य, याज्ञिक, योगीश्वर, राजमार्तण्ड, रामचन्द्राचार्य, लघुहारीत, लल्ल, लिखित, लिङ्गपुराण, लौगाक्षि, वत्स, नराहमहिर, नराहसंहिता, वर्धमानोपाध्याय, वसिष्ठ, वसिष्ठसंहिता, वल्किपुराण, वाचस्पतिमित्र, वाजपेयिनः, वाजसनेयिभाष्यार्थ-संग्रहकार, वामनपुराण, वायुपुराण, वाराहपुराण, वार्तिक, विश्वानेश्वर, विश्वरूपाचार्यनिबन्ध, विश्वामित्र, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर, विष्णुपुराण, विष्णुरहस्य, विष्णुस्मृति, वृत्तिकार, वृद्धगो, वृद्धगो, वृद्धमनु, वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य, वृद्धवसिष्ठ, वैखानससंहिता, वोपदेव, व्याघ्र, व्यास, व्रतखण्ड, शङ्करगीता, शङ्ख, शङ्खलिखित, शतपथब्राह्मण, शबरस्वामिन्, शातातप, शारदापुराण, शिक्त्रमूर्पीय, शिवरहस्य, शिवराघवसंवाद, शूलपाणि, शैवपुराण, श्रीदत्त, शर्द्धिश्मन्त, षडशीति, संवत्सरप्रदीप, संवत्, संग्रहकार, सत्यतपस, सत्यव्रत, सनत्कुमारसंहिता, समशतीस्तव, समयप्रकाशकृत्, सहायखण्डीय, सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि, सुमन्तु, सूत्रभाष्यकार, सूर्यसिद्धान्त, सौरपुराण, स्कन्दपुराण, स्मार्तभट्टाचार्य, स्मृतिमहर्षि, स्मृतिरत्नावली, स्मृतिसंग्रह, स्मृतिसमुच्चय, हरदत्त, हरिदासभट्टाचार्य, हरिनाथ, हरिवंश, हरिहर, हरीत, हेमाद्रि.

No claims can be made for the completeness of this list especially on account of the extreme corruptness of the MS and I feel that some more names can still be added to it.

The author in his treatment does not appear to leave any aspect of a topic untouched. In the course of his numerous lengthy discussions, he, like Kamalākarabhaṭṭa etc., shows remarkable boldness in occasionally criticising the views of celebrated Nibandhakāras like Jimūtavāhana,<sup>7</sup> Hemādri,<sup>8</sup> Mādhavācārya, Śūlapāṇi<sup>9</sup>

AUFRECHT and KANE have not recorded it. Our Institute's MS no. 5613 of Sankarabhaṭṭa's *Dvaitamimāya* cites these passages and assigns them to the author of the *Paraśurāmaprasāda* itself—“परशुरामप्रसादकृदादिभिस्तु द्वितीयाविद्धा प्रतिपदुक्ता।

वाक्यानि चोदाहृतानि । अमायुक्ता न कर्तव्या प्रतिपन्त्यने मम etc.” (Folio 2<sup>a</sup>). Hence our present author or scribe cannot be taken to have mistaken *Paraśurāmaprasāda* for *Paraśurāmaprakāśa* or for *Paraśurāmapratāpa*.

6. Folios 10<sup>b</sup>, 15<sup>a</sup>, 16<sup>a</sup>, 22<sup>a</sup>, 23<sup>a</sup>, 63<sup>b</sup>, 159<sup>a</sup>, 174<sup>b</sup>, 175<sup>a</sup>, 255<sup>b</sup>, 264<sup>b</sup>, etc. Obviously the author refers to Kumāṛila.

7. E. g., vide Folio 43<sup>b</sup>—“.....यत्तु ‘उपाकर्म च कर्तव्यं कर्कटरथे दिवाकरे । हस्तेन शुक्रपञ्चम्यां श्रावण्यां श्रवणा न चेत् ।’ इति प्रत्यक्षेण स्मृतिसमुच्चयवचनेन छन्दोगेतरकर्तृकोपाकर्मण्यप्यनुत्कर्षहेतोः सौरमासकर्तव्यत्वस्य प्राप्तत्वात्प्राप्यनुत्कर्षसिद्धिरवाधैवेति जीमूतवाहनाः, तत्र । प्रामाणिकानेकहेमाद्याद्यलिखितत्वेनोत्तरार्धेऽनन्वितार्थकत्वेन चास्य वचनस्यानाकरत्वात् । तथा हि etc.”

Vide also Folios 9<sup>b</sup>, 22<sup>a</sup>, 36<sup>a</sup>, 45<sup>b</sup>, 46<sup>a</sup> 49<sup>a</sup>, 322<sup>a</sup> etc. for further allusions to Jimūta-vāhana.

8. Hemādri and Mādhavācārya are cited, supported and criticised at numerous places.

9. Vide Folios 72<sup>a</sup>, 289<sup>a</sup>, 291<sup>b</sup>, 294<sup>b</sup>, 296<sup>b</sup>, 296, 302<sup>b</sup>, 311<sup>b</sup>, 320, 333<sup>b</sup> etc. for allusions to Śūlapāṇi where his views are occasionally refuted.



Vācaspatimīśra,<sup>10</sup> Śrīnātha (= Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi),<sup>11</sup> Raghunandana (= Smārtabhāṭṭācārya),<sup>12</sup> and the authors of the *Madanaratna*,<sup>13</sup> the *Pṛthvicanḍodaya*,<sup>14</sup> the *Nirṇayāṃṛta*,<sup>15</sup> etc.<sup>16</sup> Like others he sometimes assigns old Nibandhakāras to well-known provincial groups e.g. Dākṣiṇāṭya, Gauḍa, Maithila etc. However, he does not show his partiality as such to any of these groups and takes to task occasionally authors from each of these groups. He has taken to severe task numerous times two authors whom he styles as 'Navinadākṣiṇāṭyāḥ'<sup>17</sup> and 'Vājapeyinaḥ'<sup>18</sup> respectively. These

10. Vide Folio 124<sup>b</sup> ".....एतेन यदा पूर्वदिने संपूर्णाष्टमी रोहिण्ययुक्तापरदिने चोदयात्परमल्पमात्रापि रोहिणीयुक्ता तदा मुहूर्तमप्यहोरात्रे यस्मिन्नत्र हि लभ्यते इति वाक्यादुदये चाष्टमी किञ्चिदिति वाक्याच्च परैवोपोष्येति वदन्तो वाचस्पतिमिश्रप्रभृतयो मैथिलाः प्रत्याख्याताः etc."

11. Vide Folio 124<sup>b</sup> ff—"आचार्यचूडामणयस्तु 'स्वल्पाप्यष्टमी परदिन एव रोहिणीयुक्ता चेत्सर्वापवादिका परैवोपोष्या । तथा बुधसोमवारयुक्तापि सर्वापवादिका परैव । प्रेतयोनिगतानामिति पद्मपुराणात्, उदये चाष्टमी किञ्चिदिति स्कन्दपुराणाच्च, न च रोहिणीयोगे...बुधवारादियोगस्य नापवादकत्वम्, एकवाक्योपादानेन विशेषानवगमात् ।' इत्याहुः, तच्चिन्त्यम् । सर्वापवादककर्मकालशास्त्रविरोधेनोक्तरीत्या निर्णायकत्वे संभवति तद्विरुद्धार्थस्वीकारस्यान्याय्यत्वात् etc." Vide also Folios 71<sup>a</sup>, 185<sup>b</sup> etc. for further allusions to Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi.

12. Vide Folio 125<sup>a</sup>—"स्मार्तभट्टाचार्यास्तु 'प्राजपत्यर्क्षसंयुक्ता कृष्णा नमसि चाष्टमी । मुहूर्तमपि लभ्येत सैवोपोष्या महाफला ॥ वासरे वा निशायां वा यत्र स्वल्पापि रोहिणी । विशेषेण नभोमासे सैवोपोष्या.....॥' इत्यादिवचनेष्वेवकारश्रवणात् 'एकादशीव्रताद्वाजप्रधिकं रोहिणीव्रतम् । ततो हि दुर्लभा मत्वा तस्यामलं सभाचरेत् ॥' इति ब्रह्मपुराणे च जन्माष्टमीव्रतस्य रोहिणीव्रतत्वेनैव श्रवणात् तिथिद्वये रोहिणी नियामकैव, बुधवारादियोगे तु गुणफलमात्रम्' इत्युक्त्वा 'षष्टिदण्डमप्यष्टमी रोहिणीरहितां परित्यज्य रोहिणीसहिता स्वल्पाप्यष्टमी परैवोपोष्या' इति निर्णिन्द्युः, तदपि चिन्त्यम् । यदा दिनद्वयेऽपि कर्मकालेऽष्टमीसम्बन्धस्तदसम्बन्धो वा रोहिणीयोगश्चान्यतरस्मिन्नेव दिने तदा कालशास्त्रनिर्णयविषये एवकारश्रवणोपपत्तेः । रोहिणीयोगरहिताष्टमीरूपद्वितीयकोट्येवार्थवर्तकत्वात् । न च कर्मकालशास्त्रविषयामपि रोहिणीरहिताष्टमी व्यावर्तयतीति वाच्यम् । कर्मकालशास्त्राभापत्तेः । सा चानिष्टेति बहुधा प्रपञ्चितमेव वा । etc." Vide also Folios 9<sup>b</sup>, 71<sup>b</sup>, 191<sup>ab</sup>, 312<sup>ab</sup>, etc. for further allusions to Smārtabhāṭṭācārya.

13. Vide Folios 301<sup>ab</sup> etc.

14. Vide Folio 35<sup>a</sup>—एतेन श्राद्धं जातकर्माद्यङ्गभूतमाभ्युदयिकरूपमित्येवं व्याख्यां प्रकाशयन् पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदयोऽस्तं गतः । तथा व्याख्याने जातकर्मादिविधिनैव तत्प्राप्तेश्च । etc. Vide also Folios 8<sup>b</sup>, 44<sup>b</sup>, 49<sup>b</sup>, 54<sup>b</sup>, 92<sup>a</sup>, 130, 196<sup>b</sup> etc. for further allusions to the *Pṛthvicanḍodaya*.

15. Vide Folio 77<sup>b</sup>—एतेन युग्मवाक्यादुपवासे शुक्रप्रतिपदमाविद्धैव तदतिरव्रतेषु तु शुक्रायुतैरैव 'प्रतिपत्सद्वितीया—'इति वाक्यादिति वदन्तिर्णयामृतकारोऽपि निर्णयामृतकार एवावगन्तव्यः । उपवासे कृष्णप्रतिपदोऽपि पूर्वविद्याया एव व्यवस्थापनाच्च । etc. Vide also Folios 57<sup>a</sup>, 82<sup>a</sup>, 254<sup>a</sup> etc. for further allusions to the *Nirṇayāṃṛta* and its author.

16. Several other authors (e.g. Anantabhāṭṭa on Folios 77<sup>b</sup> etc.) and works (e.g. the *Nṛsimhaprasāda* on Folios 259<sup>b</sup> etc.) are found to be criticised occasionally.

17. Folios 9<sup>b</sup>, 14<sup>a</sup>, 36<sup>a</sup>, 38<sup>a</sup>, 40<sup>a</sup>, 53<sup>a</sup>, 57<sup>a</sup>, 59<sup>a</sup>, 64<sup>a</sup>, 66<sup>ff</sup>, 75<sup>a</sup>, 79<sup>a</sup>, 99<sup>a</sup>, 103<sup>a</sup>, 146<sup>a</sup>, 178<sup>a</sup> (".....इति बृहदारण्यकवाक्यस्यानाकर्ता वदन्तो नवीनदाक्षिणात्या नमस्करणीया एव ।") 180<sup>ff</sup>, 183<sup>a</sup> (".....एतेनेदृशविषये विशेषतो द्वादश्यामेवोपवासविधानात्कादिभक्ष्यकल्पनायाश्च द्वादशीदिनक्षयविषय-वाच्यं वायुपुराणीयभक्ष्यकल्पनमिति वदन्तो नवीनदाक्षिणात्या नमस्करणीया एव । etc."), 204<sup>a</sup>, 223<sup>a</sup>, 230<sup>a</sup>, 231<sup>b</sup>, 233<sup>b</sup>, 259<sup>a</sup>, etc. etc.

18. Folios 191<sup>b</sup>, 197<sup>b</sup>, 204<sup>a</sup>, 221<sup>b</sup>, 226<sup>a</sup>, 256<sup>a</sup> (".....नवरात्राभिर्घं कर्मैत्यभिवा-

two authors, the former of whom has received the biggest number of blows, appear to be possibly contemporaries of our author and it would be worth while and interesting to settle their identity when a better MS of the *Dvijarājodaya* becomes available.

The author's extensive introduction in the MS reads as follows :--

ॐ सिद्धिः । श्रीगणेशाय नमः

कालिन्दीं दलयन्महीं विवरयन्दिन्दन्तिनः कम्पय—

भ्रागेन्द्रं लघयन्भरेण जलधीन्वेलातिवृत्तिं नयन्

व्यालान्मयाकुल्यन्वतानभिहसन्मदृत्य गोवर्धनं

यो वृष्टिव्यथितं गवां कुलमपात्तोऽपायतस्त्रायताम् ॥ १ ॥

क्रीडाताण्डवडम्बरात्रिपतिना देवस्य चण्डीपते—

ध्वाचूर्णितचन्द्रखण्डमिलिता नेत्राभिमङ्गाकणाः ।

केलिब्रुव्यबुदरहारगलिताः श्रुक्तां पुनर्ग्रन्थितुं

निक्षिप्ता मणिमौक्तिका इह सदा शमोणि निर्मान्तु वः ॥ २ ॥

वाचां देवि ! मुहुर्विधाय विनतिं कञ्चिद्दूरं प्रार्थये

मघेतोवचसोर्निकाममधुना त्वं सन्निधिं कल्पय ।

येनाहं करवै तवैव विभवाच्छ्रीद्वारकेन्द्रप्रभो—

ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन्वचनार्थयोर्निपुणतां विद्वन्मुदे कामपि ॥ ३ ॥

भाटे भट्टैकवेषस्त्रिमुनिविरचितव्याकृतौ व्यस्तशेषः

सोन्मेषस्तकेशाब्जे कपिलमुनिकृतौ ज्ञाततत्तद्विशेषः ।

वेदान्ताम्भोजभानुः परिणतकविताकैरवीशीतभानु—

र्भट्टः श्रीशङ्कराख्यो जगति विजयते कोऽपि मूर्तः कृशानुः ॥ ४ ॥

तर्कतोयनिधिसेतुकारिणं स्मार्तकुञ्जविपिनैकचारिणम् ।

शिष्यबोधविधयेऽत्रतारिणं रामकृष्णमहमाश्रये मुहुः ॥ ५ ॥

यः सर्वचातुर्धरिकभाषराजः कोरस्पुर(प्री)<sup>19</sup>तमहासमाजः ।

दारिद्र्यदावानलवारिवाहः कीर्त्या जितस्वस्तटिनीप्रवाहः ॥ ६ ॥

सन्मानदानाचितपण्डितेन्द्रः श्रीद्वारकावात्समहीमहेन्द्रः ।

19.....

सोऽयुक्तं ताम्बूलयुगं प्रदाय धीरेश्वरं कालविवेचनाय ।

अतस्तनोन्येष तदीयदेशं वंशं च निर्वर्ण्य यथोपदेशम् ॥ ८ ॥

अतारविशविनयैकदेशः पवित्रतानिर्जितपुण्यदेशः ।

षट्संनिष्पत्तलसद्विजेशो जयत्यजस्रं भुवि मध्यदेशः ॥ ९ ॥

भागीरथीभानुपुतान्तराले महालबाले सुकृताङ्गुराणाम् ।

विराजमानाध्वरवेदिजाले तस्यान्तरे कापि चक्रास्ति वेदिः ॥ १० ॥

तत्र श्रीमति कान्यकुब्जविषये स्वर्गापगायास्तटे

ब्रह्माचर्ये इति प्रसिद्धविषयो जागर्ति नोद्गूरः ।

त्वोक्तेरपि प्रतिपादकत्वमात्रपरत्वत् संज्ञासंज्ञिम्बन्धस्य शास्त्रप्रमेयत्वाभावाच्च नबरात्रशब्दः प्रतिपदादिनवतिथिरूपगुणविधरेवेति वदन्तो वाजपेयिनो नमस्करणीया एव । etc. ") 302<sup>a</sup>, 304<sup>a</sup>, 307<sup>a</sup> etc.

19. Lacunæ are visible in the MS at these places.

**अञ्जोदुम्बरहारनाम** मनसो विभ्रामधाम स्थलं

नेत्रानन्दकरी मनोहनगरी तस्मिञ्जरीजृम्भते ॥ ११ ॥

औन्नत्यैकनिकेतनं सरलतास्थानं नतेर्भोजनं

श्लिष्टः कीर्तिलताप्रताननिकरैः सद्यः श्रुतेर्वारुधः ।

आलम्बः स्वलतां पथि द्विजकुलोत्तंसः प्रशंसैकभू—

र्यस्तस्यां वरिवर्ति कश्यपमुनेर्वशोऽवतंसो भुवः ॥ १२ ॥

विश्याम्भोजवनीस्फुरद्दिनमणिर्दीनैकचिन्तामणिः

स्वच्छोद्यद्गुणहारनायकमणिर्विप्रर्षिचूडामणिः ।

क्षोणीनायकमौलिमण्डनमणिस्पृष्टाङ्घ्रिपद्माग्रणी—

राशाद्रित्य उदारकीर्तिरभवत्तद्वंशमुक्तामणिः ॥ १३ ॥

रुद्रा इवैकादश सूनवोऽस्य बभूवुरत्यन्तगुणाभिरामाः ।

ज्यायानभूदेषु गुणैर्गरीयान् सीरू विरूपाक्षपदैकभक्तः ॥ १४ ॥

तेषां दशभ्यो नृपतिश्च देलः पृथक्पृथक् शासनमुत्ससर्ज ।

सीरू न जग्राह विरूपनेत्राच्छब्दप्रसादो नृपदानभीरुः ॥ १५ ॥

तस्यावसध्यामिरतस्य वंशे महाप्रशंसं स्पृहणीयमूर्तिः ।

अभूज्जगन्नाथपदाभिधेयो यः शास्त्रशलोभयरैणुकेयः ॥ १६ ॥

स कश्यपोत्तुङ्गकुलप्रदीपो विप्रान्दरिद्रानवलोक्य सद्यः ।

दातुं महीं पैतृकदायभूतामाच्छिद्य जग्राह महीपतिभ्यः ॥ १७ ॥

गङ्गातटाक्षिणतोऽयं कोरस्पुरादुदीच्यां दिशि यो नातिदूरे जनान्ते ।

मनोहरं देवपुरं विलोक्य तस्मिन्निवासाय रुचिं चकार ॥ १८ ॥

तस्मिन्निवासं विधिवद्विधाय प्रदाय विप्रर्षिकुलाय भूमिम् ।

स पालयंस्तत्कुलमादरेण स्वकर्मकाण्डेन निनाय कालम् ॥ १९ ॥

स्ववंशभारोद्धनैकदशो दोर्दण्डविद्रावितवैरिलक्षः ।

याच्यानुषां भूतलकल्पवृक्षो दामोदरस्तस्य बभूव सूनुः ॥ २० ॥

युधिष्ठिरो धर्मविवेचनायां बलेन भीमो विजयो रणेषु ।

दामोदरोऽसौ नकुलो नयेषु वपुःश्रियाभूत्सहदेवमूर्तिः ॥ २१ ॥

श्रियोऽप्येते याचकपङ्कजानां भानुः कुशानुद्विषदिन्धनानाम् ।

विद्वच्चकोरेषु च शीतभानुर्भगीरथस्तस्य सुतो बभूव ॥ २२ ॥

दारिद्र्यशाशनलभस्मभूतान्द्विजान्स्वरूपान्सगरस्य पुत्रैः ।

अनल्पसङ्कल्पजलैरिहान्यामाबाध गङ्गामयमुद्धार ॥ २३ ॥

अखण्डभूमण्डलकीर्तिसे(नः) प्रचण्डदोर्दण्डहारिसेनः ।

भगीरथात्कोऽपि स चन्द्रसेनः शम्भोर्महासेन इवाविरासीत् ॥ २४ ॥

ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डोपरि गन्तुकामः श्रान्तं निजं हंसमवेक्ष्य वेधाः ।

प्रयाति सर्वोपरि सञ्चरन्तीं यत्कीर्तिहंसीमवलम्ब्य सद्यः ॥ २५ ॥

(Verses 26-29 continue the praise of this चन्द्रसेन and of his city चन्द्रपुर.)

श्रीमच्छन्द्रपुरं महीहृदि महामाणिक्यवद्भासते ॥ २९ ॥

कश्मीरो गुणकुङ्कुमे हिमकरः सन्तापनिर्वापणे  
धर्माभोजवने नवोऽम्बरमणिर्दाबो द्विवत्कानने ।

सिन्धुः कीर्तिकलानिधौ निरुपधिर्बन्धुः प्रपन्ने जने  
तस्मादाविर्भूयतामहिमा श्रीद्वारकेन्द्रः प्रभुः ॥ ३० ॥

(Verses 31-38 eulogise this द्वारकेन्द्रप्रभु in various ways.)

लक्ष्मोशः सततं दधार हृदि यल्लक्ष्मी जटाकोटरे  
चञ्चलुत्तररङ्गसङ्गरहितां गङ्गां च गङ्गाधरः ।

तत्प्रेम्णेति बद्धन्तु मन्दमतयः श्रीद्वारकेन्द्रप्रभो-  
दानोत्सर्गजलव्ययैकभयतः संतर्कयामो वयम् ॥ ३८ ॥

श्रीमद्दशरूपमुखाम्बुलहप्रसूतव्यख्यामरन्दनिकुरम्बमिलिन्दमूर्तिः ।

आदाय कल्पतरुकल्पलतादिसारं बध्नाम्यहं कमपि कालविधौ । बन्धम् ॥ ३९ ॥

सन्ति यद्यपि भूयांसः प्रबन्धाः कालनिर्णये ।

तथापि निर्णये कालं द्वारकानाथनोदितः ॥ ४० ॥

The most complete chapter colophons read as follows:—

इति श्रीमन्महीमण्डलाखण्डलश्रीचन्द्रसेनात्मजविपदर्णवकर्णधारकलिकालकर्णोत्तारविषमप्रतिज्ञा-  
परिपूरणपरायणभक्तिभावितनारायणशरणगतवज्रपञ्जरसिंहवदूहीतिरपुञ्जरप्रतापलङ्केश्वरसमराज्जणमहेश्वर-  
निःसीमसन्मानकृतार्थीकृतविद्वत्साथैवचोनिष्ठाकनिष्ठीकृतप्रथमपार्थनिरुपमाचारस्वीकारसाहसिकदुराचारपरि-  
हाररसिकदयादाक्षिण्यादिगुणप्राप्तनिधानेत्यादिसमस्तप्रशस्तबिरुदराजीविराजमानमानोन्नतमहामहिमचानु-  
धैरिकधुरन्धरावसधिकश्रीद्वारकादासस्त्रिजराजोदये कान्यकुब्जाञ्जदिनमणिशाण्डिल्यवंशमुक्तामणि-  
श्रीमिश्रदेवशर्मामजश्रीमिश्रधीरेश्वरविरचितो मासपक्षमयूखोदयो नाम चतुर्थः प्रकाशः ॥ छ ॥  
(—Folio 56\*) or •विरचितः पञ्चदशीविंशपे पञ्चदशकलोदयो नाम सप्तत्रिंशत्तमः प्रकाशः ॥ छ ॥  
(—Folio 251\*).

Evidently the work was written under the patronage of a chieftain named Dvārakādāsa. Dvārakānātha or Dvārakendra who was head of a royal line surnamed Cāturdharika (= Chaudhari), belonging to the Kaśyapa Gotra and Brāhmaṇa by caste. The headquarters of this royal line appear to be at different times at the places named probably as Koraspura, Udumbarahāra, Devapura and Candrapura which were all situated near each other not far from the right bank of the Ganges somewhere in the vicinity of Brahmāvarta (= Bithoor), then included in the Kanauj district of the Doab region. The names of the scions of this line are given by the author in the order आशदित्य—सीरु (son)—जगन्नाथ (descendant)—दामोदर (son)—भगीरथ (son)—चन्द्रसेन (son)—द्वारकेन्द्र (son). Sirū is said to have discarded a royal grant from King Cadela (= a king of the Chandel dynasty?) while each of his ten younger brothers accepted similar ones for themselves. His descendant Jagannātha is said to have recovered forcibly his paternal estates abdicated by Sirū and since taken possession of by other kings. These myths and those concerning the shifting of headquarters by the various scions of the line appear to be genuine. I leave it to scholars engaged in local historical research in U. P., especially to those residing near Cawnpore or Kanauj, to identify this royal line and the places mentioned by the author on the basis of these myths, if possible.

In Verses 4 and 5 the author glorifies his two gurus named respectively Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa and Rāmākṣṣa at whose feet he appears to have taken his lessons in various Śāstras. Of these, Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa, who is again alluded to in Verse 37, is described as proficient *par excellence* in Pūrvamīmāṃsā. Pāṇiniya Vyākaraṇa,



sible in that age only at a place like Benares where several reputed Mahārāstra Paṇḍita families have been residing for centuries. The fact of his receiving patronage from a mofussil chieftain need not be taken to go against his residence at Benares since royal patrons from all parts of India are known to have munificently encouraged renowned Paṇḍitas residing in that premier holy city and seat of learning to compose monumental Sanskrit works in various ages.

Possibly the latest among the works cited by our author is the *Kālatattvavivecana*<sup>26</sup> which was composed by Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, a nephew of Jagadguru Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, in 1620 A.C.<sup>27</sup> Hence the *Dvijarājodaya* must have been composed after 1620 A.C. As the author nowhere alludes to Nilakantha Bhaṭṭa, the second son of Saṅkara Bhaṭṭa, or to any of his celebrated Maṇḍukas, he appears to be an earlier disciple of his Guru and senior to Nilakantha Bhaṭṭa many of whose important works are known to have been composed before 1645 A.C.<sup>28</sup> The *Dvijarājodaya* can therefore be reasonably assumed to be composed some time about 1630 A.C.

It is, however, a great mystery that the *Dvijarājodaya* nowhere appears to allude distinctly to Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa or to his monumental *Nimayasindhu* which had been composed as early as 1612 A.C.<sup>29</sup> and deals almost with the same subject. On a comparison of the treatments of some identical topics in the two works my impression was that our author was certainly not unfamiliar with Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa's work. It is not unlikely that his non-mention of the latter is deliberate in view of the jealousy and rivalry which have been detected<sup>30</sup> to exist between Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa and his cousin Nilakantha Bhaṭṭa, a son of our author's Guru, and which might have already originated even during the Guru's life-time. However, my attempts to identify some of the views attributed by our author to 'Navinadākṣiṇātyāh' and 'Dākṣiṇātyasīṣṭamanyāh'<sup>31</sup> with those in the *Nimayasindhu* did not succeed except possibly in one or two cases. It is also likely that the term 'Navinadākṣiṇātyāh' is used by our author collectively for some authors probably including Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa.

The author's display of his proficiency in Vyākaraṇa and Pūrvamīmāṃsā<sup>32</sup> is

26. Vide Folio 29. I was able to trace out all these cited passages on Folios 330<sup>a</sup>, 333<sup>a</sup>, etc. of our Institute's MS. (dated Śaka 1607-1685 A.C.) No. 3444 of the *Kālatattvavivecana* composed by Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa.

27. Vide Verse 2 of its conclusion- "ससप्तसरसभूमिमितेऽन्दे कर्तिकासितमुनौ रविबारे । प्रण्यर्त्तिसुकृते रघुनाथो राघवाय परमर्पयति स्म ॥" (Folio 368<sup>b</sup> of the above-mentioned MS. No. 3444 of the S. O. Institute, Ujjain).

28. P. V. KANE : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, P. 440.

29. *Ibid*, P. 437.

30. *Ibid*, P. 440.

31. Vide ".....एतेन 'वर्षे वर्षे तु यच्छ्राद्धं मातापित्रोर्मृताहनि । मासद्वयेऽपि तत्कार्यं व्याघ्रस्य वचनं यथा ॥ श्राद्धीयाहनि संप्राप्ते त्वधिमासो भवेद्यदि । श्राद्धद्वयं प्रकुर्वीत एवं कुर्वन् मुच्यति ॥ द्वौ मासौ चेकनामानां वैकस्मिन्वत्सरे यदि । उत्तरे देवकार्याणि पितृकार्याणि चोभयोः ॥" इत्यादीनि गालवकृद्बलिघ्नान्निरःप्रभृतीनां सामान्यवचनान्यालोच्य मलमासशुद्धभागयोर्वाषिर्कश्राद्धद्वयमाचरन्तः स्वाचारानुसारिणमेव च शास्त्रार्थमुपदिशन्तो दाक्षिणात्यशिष्टमन्या माननीया एव etc." (—Folio 40<sup>a</sup>).

32. Vide, for instance, his ruthless criticism of an author- ".....तस्मान्न नित्यं किं तु फलश्रवणात्काम्यमेवेति 'वसत' इति वैदिकवाक्योपन्यासमात्रेणात्मनो मीमांसकतां नाटयताम- नाघ्रातमीमांसगन्धानां घ्राणाहानां प्रत्यपो न श्रद्धेयः etc." (—Folio 131<sup>a</sup>).

conspicuous at many places in the work. Yet by far the predominating feature of the work is his admirable proficiency in Nyāya which is conspicuous on almost every line of the same. Vide, for instance, the opening portion of the main work—

“ननु ‘ब्रह्माणो बहवो ह्मा अन्ये नारायणादयः । एको हि भगवानीशः कालः कविरिति स्मृतः ॥’ इत्यादिकूर्मपुराणादिबचनैः कालस्यैकतयैव नियतत्वाद् द्वैतासम्भवेन निर्णयोऽनुपपन्नो निःप्रयोजनकश्चेति चेन्न । एकस्यापि तस्य संवत्सरायनतुमासपक्षतिथ्याद्युपाधिभेदाद्विभक्ततया तत्तद्वचोनिबन्धेन प्रमितत्वात् । संवत्सरादीनां च चान्द्रादिभेदविभक्ततया द्वैतसम्भवेन निर्णयोपपत्तेः । विहितनिषिद्धकर्मोक्ततया विधीयमानानां तेषां निर्णयस्य च कर्मानुष्ठानौपयिकतया सप्रयोजनकत्वात् । .....तत्र संवत्सरो नाम द्वादशमासावच्छिन्नः कालोपाधिविशेषः । ‘द्वादश मासाः संवत्सरः’ इति श्रुतेः । न चाधिकमासवति संवत्सरेऽव्याप्तिस्तत्र द्वादशमासानां न्यूनतयानवच्छेदकत्वेन तदवच्छिन्नत्वाभावादिति वाच्यम् । दिवसानामतिरेकेऽपि द्वादशमासावच्छिन्नत्वस्याक्षतेः । मासपदेन तत्तन्मासविभाजकतत्त्वैत्रत्वाद्युपाध्यवच्छिन्नस्यैव विवक्षितत्वात् । न हि कदाचित्कस्यचिच्चैत्रादेर्विवसाधिक्येऽपि तत्तदुपाध्यवच्छिन्नचैत्रादिद्वादशमासभेदः समास्ति । तस्य तदनन्तर्गतत्वात् । यतः स्मरन्ति ‘षष्ठ्या तु दिवसैर्मोसः’ इति । न चास्ति त्रयोदशो मास इति श्रुतिविरोधः, तस्यास्तिशब्दिवसाधिक्यमात्रपरत्वात् । अन्यथा चैत्राद्यतिरिक्तमासोपलम्भप्रसङ्गः । यद्वा, द्वादशत्रयोदशान्यतरमासावच्छिन्नः कालोपाधिविशेषः सः । ‘त्रयोदश मासाः संवत्सरः’ इति श्रुतेरिति etc.” (—Folio 4<sup>o</sup> ff), or his subsequent definitions etc.—अथायनम् । तच्च वर्षान्यतरसौरतुत्रयावच्छिन्नकालोपाधिरूपम् etc.” (—Folio 76<sup>b</sup>), “अथ ऋतुः । तत्त्वं तु सौरचान्द्रान्यतरमासद्वयावच्छिन्नकालोपाधित्वं, चैत्रादिचान्द्रमासद्वयावच्छिन्नकालोपाधित्वमेव वा etc.” (—Folio 8<sup>o</sup>), etc. I am inclined to take the author's extravagant use of Nyāya in the work as probably the main cause of its hindrance and a bar to its popularity.

Anyhow, this factor furnishes us with a very adequate clue to our Dhīreśvara Mīśra's identity with Dhīreśa Mīśra who was one of the gurus of Nilakanṭha Caturdhara, the well-known commentator of the *Mahābhārata*, and taught him Logic. Nilakanṭha alludes to this Dhīreśa Mīśra at numerous places in his various works, but the following passages may be cited here as most pertinent—

“वेदान्ते लक्ष्मणार्य ऋतुविधिविद्वत्तौ तीर्थनारायणार्य तर्के धीरेशमिथान् फणितिभणितौ पोलगङ्गाधारार्यम् । वेदे साङ्गे पितृभ्यं शिवमथ पितरं दक्षिणामूर्त्युपास्तौ श्रौते चिन्तामणि यः शरणमुपगतो भूम्नि गोपालदेवम् ॥ १ ॥ व्याकरोन्मोक्षधर्मोन्स नीलकण्ठः समासतः । etc.” (—Conclusion of the *Bhāratabhāvadīpa* on the *Sāntīparvan*.—Poona, 1939, P. 754). “गोपालं भूम्नि वेदे शिवमथ पितरं दक्षिणामूर्त्युपास्तौ वेदान्ते लक्ष्मणार्य ऋतुविधिविद्वत्तौ तीर्थनारायणार्यम् । तर्के धीरेशमिथान् फणितिभणितौ पोलगङ्गाधारार्यं श्रौते चिन्तामणि यो गुरुमकृत कृतिं तस्य सन्तः पुनस्तु ॥ etc.” (—Conclusion of Nilakanṭha's *Rudramānāsā*, a com. on the *Rudrasārasaṅgraha*. Folio 22<sup>a</sup> of MS No. 6182 of the com. in the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain), etc. A verse “सर्वविशेषतामाविधिकीर्षु पूर्वपूर्ववै । श्रीनारायणधीरेशरूपी हरिहरौ नमः ।”

is repeated by Nilakanṭha at several places in his *Bhāratabhāvadīpa*. The description ‘Pūrvapūrvau’ here probably suggests that the two gurus Dhīreśa Mīśra and Nārāyaṇatīrtha<sup>33</sup> were already much advanced in age when Nilakanṭha set his hand to the composition of the gigantic commentary which had certainly been finished long before 1687 A.C.<sup>34</sup> Thus the dates are quite in agreement with the

33. Vide P. K. GOPE's paper in the now extinct *Mīmāṃsā-Prakāśa*, Vol. III. No. 6, Pp. 65-71, for the identification of this Nārāyaṇatīrtha with the author of the *Bhāṭīabhaṣāprakāśikā*.

34. This (= Śaka 1609) is the date of a MS of the com. Vide *Catalogue of Vāṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat* (Calcutta, 1935), P. 94.

identity suggested by me. Further, it is in consonance with the pedigrees that Nilakantha, a contemporary of Gāṇābhata, should be a grand-disciple of Gāṇābhata's grand-uncle.

Another verse प्रणम्य नारायणतीर्थवर्यान्धीरेशमिधमांश्च हमीरपुर्यान् । प्राप्य गुरुणां हृदयानुरूपं कुर्मः सभापर्वणि भावदीपम् ॥ or कुर्मो गुरुणां हृदयानुरूपमारण्यके पर्वणि भावदीपम् ॥ occurring in Nilakantha's introductions to the *Sabhāparvan* and the *Vaṇsparvan*, probably shows that Dhīreśa Miśra, lately settled at Benares where Nilakantha received his education and composed most of his works originally hailed from a place called Hamīrapura. This place is probably identical with Hamirpur, a district town originally belonging to the Būndelkhand and now in the Jhansi Division of U. P. The town was quite close to the Hamirpur Road railway station on the lately dismantled Cawnpore-Banda line of the G. I. P. Railway, 51 miles from Banda and not far from the banks of the Jumna. I had myself paid a cursory visit to this place several years ago and am personally aware of the existence there to this day of several orthodox families of the Kanaujiā Brāhmaṇa community to which our author Dhīreśvara Miśra belonged.



## MISCELLANEA

### NARAYANA-GAON PLATES OF SINDA GOVAMNA ; SAKA 933

These plates which are published here for the first time, were found in the possession of a Mohamedan gentleman, Rājā Mahamad MOHIDIN by name, of Nārāyaṇa-gāon, near Junnar, in the Poona district of the Bombay Presidency. He reports to have acquired them from one Tājan, a farmer from the same village, who discovered them while ploughing his field near an ancient *dargah*. The former brought them to the notice of Rao Bahadur V. A. BAMBARDEKAR, who after deciphering them partly read a short paper about their contents before the 23rd Annual Meeting<sup>1</sup> of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samsodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona, held on the 7th June 1936. These plates were also shown to Prof. Datto Waman POTDAR, the enthusiastic secretary of the Maṇḍala, about the same time, who had prepared very careful notes regarding them. These notes were revised by Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, the Director General of Archaeology in India, who supplied Prof. POTDAR, another short note of historical and topographical interest, for publication in the Quarterly journal of the Maṇḍala. For several reasons, these notes and the paper by Rao Bahadur Bambardekar were never published and the plates remained into oblivion till recently when another grant of the same dynasty was found and edited elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> The original plates cannot be traced now, but in view of the importance of the inscription they bear, this grant is edited here from the excellent photographs retained by Rao Bahadur BAMBARDEKAR. In writing this article we have been fortunate in being able to make use of all the material above referred to, for which our best thanks are due to Prof. POTDAR and Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, for his valuable notes which have been utilised here in full.

The set consists of two plates only, each of which measures  $3\frac{1}{4}$ " broad and  $6\frac{1}{4}$ " high. At the top of each plate there is a round hole about .4" in diameter, through which a copper-ring, 2.5" in diameter and about .3" in thickness, passes and holds them together. The ends of this ring have been flattened for the socket of a seal, which, if it had any, cannot be traced. The rims of the plates have been thickened or raised to protect the inscription. Both the plates are inscribed on their inner sides only and the writing consists of 33 lines, of which 18 appear on the first plate and the remaining 15 on the second plate. It is in an excellent state of preservation. The plates together with the ring, weigh  $48\frac{1}{2}$  tolas.

The characters are of the Nāgari type of alphabet, and are regular for the period in which the plates were issued. There is nothing noteworthy about their forms except for a few individual letters like *Kha* in lines 12 and 17, which appear to be in a transitory stage. As regards orthography it may be pointed out that *Va* is almost always used for *Ba*; and the consonant followed by *r* is always duplicated.

The language of the inscription, with the exception of the imprecatory verses appearing between lines 23-32, is Sanskrit prose. It is not grammatically correct and the most conspicuous mistake is the name of the donee, which is given in the genitive case, instead of in the dative, as required by the rules of grammar.

The object of the inscription is to record the gift of the village Br̥hat (Larger) Avasari, by Govamna Rāja,<sup>3</sup> son of Yuddhamalla Rāja, of the Sinda lineage. The donee was a brahmin Nārāṇa (probably a corrupt form of the name Nārāyaṇa), son of Bappaiya Bhaṭṭa, who is described as a resident of the village Manjari. He

1. See *B. I. S. M. Quarterly*, XVII, p. 48.

2. MIRASHI and DIKSHIT, "An incomplete grant of Sinda Adityavarman" *Saka* 887. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXV, p. 164 ff.

3. This name can also be read as Bhowarīna in the text; but Govana is chosen here as it is commonly noticed in inscriptions.

belonged to the Bhāradwāja-*gotra* and was a student of the Bahvryca-śākhā (of the Rgveda). To him the village was granted with certain rights and as a 'Bhāṭṭava', for obtaining merit for himself, his father, grand-father and the great-grand-father by the donor. The boundaries of this donated village have been specified in lines 17-20, as Khaḍaka Vāhinya to the east, a mountain to the south and a river running through tamarind trees towards the north.

The grant was made by Govarṇa, while residing in Janvu(ou)tuha on the auspicious day of a *saṁkrānti*, on the 11th day in the dark-half of the month of Āśvina (Āśvina)\* in the śaka year 933 (expressed in numerical figures only); the cyclic year then was Virōdhakṛt. This date corresponds regularly with Wednesday, 26th September, A.D. 1011. According to the solar reckoning the sun entered the asterism of Tula, on this tithi, and it was therefore a *saṁkrānti* day (tula-*saṁkrānti*); as stated in the inscription.

About Govarṇa, nothing more is stated in the present record, except that he was the son of Yuddha-malla, and that he belonged to the Sinda lineage. From the simple *virudas* borne both by his father and himself, it is clear that they were some feudatory chieftains. As regards the Sinda-varṇa, to which he belonged attention may be drawn to the grant of Sinda Āḍityavarman, published recently,<sup>6</sup> which goes to establish the rule of a branch of the Sinda dynasty in the vicinity of Junnar in the Poona district. As the places mentioned in this inscription are also from the Poona district as shown below, it remains undoubted that the donor of the present plates also belonged to the same branch of the Sindas to which Āḍityavarman belonged. The aforementioned grant of Āḍityavarman was issued in Śaka 887, while the present plates are dated Śaka 933. It is clear therefore that the rule of the Sindas lasted in the territory near Junnar, at least till the early half of the 11th century A.D. At the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to ascertain the exact relationship between Āḍityavarman and Govarṇa, the donor of these plates, from whose reign they are separated by about 46 years. But calculating a reign of roughly 25 years for each person that succeeded Āḍityavarman, it seems probable that at least two generations must have intervened between these two rulers. Yuddha-malla, the father of the donor, may have therefore been a grand-son or great-grand-son of Āḍityavarman, though it must be admitted that there is nothing indicative of this relationship in the formal description of the present plates.

Besides furnishing the name of a few ruler of a later date, from the Sinda family of Junnar, these plates give us interesting information. It is regarding the taxes mentioned in it. Three *daṇḍas* accrue to the ruler, viz., Nikshepa i.e., treasure trove (ii) Kumārisāhasraṇi (iii) Gōhavarī, and in addition to these another tax called Tanikā. Excluding all these taxes, the income from the other taxes was to be given to the Grāma-Bhāṭṭa (i.e. the donee). The passage referring to these taxes is somewhat difficult to interpret satisfactorily.

Kumāri-sāhasraṇi, on the authority of Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, probably refers to a thousand stems of the medicinal plant called Kumāri (Marāṭhi—Kuṇvār-phod; Bengālī—Ghṛta-Kumāri; Hindi—Ghi-Kuṇvar; Bot. *Aloe Vera*). As regards Gōhavarī, he has called our attention to the expression "A-puṣpa-kṣira-sandōha" occurring in copper-plate grants, and refers to it as a kind of tax. Gōhavarī, may probably refer to another vegetable plant of the same name in modern Marāṭhi (Sanskṛt—Gowṛaṇi; Tāmil—Koṭha-avarakkai; Telugu—Goruchikuḍu; Bot. *Cymopsis ploroides*). In the same strain Tanikā, may also refer to some tax on pas-

4. It may be pointed out that the month of Āśvina is still called *Āsō*, in modern Gujarati.

5. PILLAI, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 25.

6. MIRASHI and DIKSHIT, "An incomplete grant of Sinda Āḍityavarman" *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV, p. 164 ff.

tures, the word being derived from the Sanskrit *Tṛṇa* meaning grass, and called *Taṇa* in Marāṭhi.

The meaning of the passage, where these taxes occur, as we have already stated, is somewhat obscure. It seems surprising to see that such petty taxes referring to the vegetable kingdom should have been referred to in a copper-plate grant. Other possible alternative, at least for the second named tax, may be suggested by interpreting the word as "Kumāri-sāhasaṇ" and by translating it as standing for a penalty for 'outraging the modesty of a virgin.' In this connection it may be pointed out that this item is mentioned in the list of punishable crimes, among many others, in a recently published grant (B) of Prthivichandra Bhogaśakti,<sup>7</sup> as also in the recently edited Baroda Museum grant of Śilāhāra Aparājita.<sup>8</sup> In the present case this interpretation seems to be likely, but this does not throw any light on the other two taxes, *viz.*, Gohavāri and Taṇikā, the meaning of which is still uncertain.

As regards the boundaries of the donated village mentioned this grant, Khaḍaka-vāhīnya, which was to the eastern side of it, appears to be a small streamlet which passes through a rocky ground, the word Khaḍaka corresponding to the modern word of the same name in Marāṭhi meaning rock. The modern equivalent of these two terms would be something like Khaḍaka-Ōhōl, the last being the corrupt form of the original Sanskrit word Vāhīnya.

The donated village was bounded by a mountain on the south and by another streamlet which flowed through cinca (tamarind) trees on the north. The village is stated to have a Hastinikā on the west. This word, the meaning of which is uncertain, according to RAO BHADUR, K. N. DIKSHIT, corresponds to or may be styled as an "Elephant Way or pass," through the *ghāts*, which still form a conspicuous landmark on the way to the village Manchar.

As regards the geographical names all the places mentioned in these plates are to be found in the Poona district, in the vicinity of Junnar. Avasari, the donated village, which is called Brhat Avasari in the inscription, evidently refers to the village Avasari in the Khed tālukā about 3 miles to the south-east of Manchar. There are two villages of the same name almost equi-distant from Manchar called Avasari (Buzurg) and Avasari (Khurd) separated from each other by a few furlongs. But the villages answering to the description in the plates seems to be Avasari Buzurg, for there are still some tamarind tree forests to the north of it and a small rivulet running from the east of the village which after a short course joins the watershed of the Ghod river. The name of Avasari Khurd would correspondingly be Laghu-Avasari, as distinguished from the other village. Manjari which is described the place of residence of the donee, is now represented by Manjarivādi, a small hamlet 2 miles east of Avasari Buzurg. Jambutuha, from where the donor is stated to have issued this grant, is undoubtedly Jambut, a village 13 miles to the N. E. of Avasari Buzurg. It is situated on the southern banks of the river Kukdi.

#### TEXT.<sup>9</sup>

##### FIRST PLATE, INNER SIDE

- 1 ओ<sup>10</sup> स्वस्ति शक सम्वत् ९३३ वि-
- 2 रोषकृतसंवत्सर ( रे ) प्रवर्तमा-
- 3 न ( ने ) आसोय<sup>11</sup> व ( व ) हुल एकाद-
- 4 श्या महापर्वणि संक्रांती जं-
- 5 बु ( बु ) बुहे समावासितेन श्रीम-

7. *Epi. Ind.*, XXV, p. 225 ff.

8. GADRE, *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, p. 58 (Grant A).

9. From photographs of the plates.

10. Expressed by a symbol.

11. For *Āśāya*, see above footnote 4.





- 6 द्रोवैनैय राजेन सिन्दान्वय-
- 7 प्रसूतेन श्रीमद्युद्धमन्त्रा-
- 8 जयुतेन आत्मनश्च पितु(तृ)पि-
- 9 तामहप्रपितामहपुण्ययशो-
- 10 भिवृक्षये मंजरिग्रामविनि-
- 11 गंत भारद्वाजगोत्र व( ब )वृक्ष-  
12 खासत्र(ब)वृक्षारी<sup>13</sup> वा(वा)ह्यण नार-
- 13 णस्य<sup>14</sup> व(ब)प्यैयभट्ट सुतस्य वृ(वृ)-
- 14 हत् अवसरि ग्रामः सवृक्ष-
- 15 मालाकुलः चतुःसीमापर्यय<sup>15</sup>-
- 16 तः भट्टत्वेन प्रदत्तः [ । ]\* तच्च
- 17 सीमा निर्णयः । तस्य पूर्व्वे ख-
- 18 डकवाहिण्यः दक्षिणे पर्व्वतः

## SECOND PLATE, INNER SIDE

- 19 पश्चिमे हस्तिनीका । उत्तरे
- 20 विचवृक्षसंयुक्तवाहिण्यः
- 21 एवं यावच्चंद्रार्कतारा ताव-
- 22 त्रप्रतिपालनीयं ( यम् ) । निक्षेपः
- 23 कुमारिसाहस्रं गोहवारीति
- 24 श्रीमहाज्जस्य<sup>16</sup> भाव्याः दंडत्र-
- 25 यः तणीकासमेत (तः) यच्छेषदं-
- 26 डास्तद्ग्रामभट्टस्य ॥ व (ब)हुभिर्व्व-<sup>17</sup>
- 27 सुधा भुक्ता राजनैः ( भिः ) सगरादि-
- 28 भिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
- 29 तस्य तदा फलं ( लम् ) ॥ स्वदत्तां पर-
- 30 दत्तां वा यो हरेत वधुंधरां ( राम् ) । व-
- 31 ज्जि<sup>18</sup> व्वसहस्राणि विघ्नायां-
- 32 जायते किं ( कृ ) मिः ॥ क्ल<sup>19</sup> ॥ शिवम-
- 33 स्तु ॥ क्ल<sup>20</sup> ॥

Poona

(Late) V. A. BAMBARDEKAR<sup>21</sup> and MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT.12. Read *Brahmacārin*.13. Read *Brāhmaṇa Nārāyaṇāya*.14. Read *Bhaṭṭa-sutāya*.15. There is a sign, which is probably meant for an *anumāsika*. Read *Paryanta*.16. Read *Rājanyasya*. 17. Metre of this and the next verse *Anushtubh*.18. Read *Ṣaṣṭhir* varṣa.19. A floral device between the pair of *danḍas*.

20. Another floral device, indicating the termination of the record.

21. [I have to record with deep sorrow that Rao Bahadur V. A. BAMBARDEKAR passed away in February 1943 ; He was instrumental in securing the plates edited above, and had read a paper on the same before the B. I. S. Mandala. At his request I undertook to edit them, and it is very much to be regretted that he did not live to see this article published. In him we have lost a good critical scholar.]

## KĀYASTHA

In the *NIA*, I, pp. 740-3 Mm. P. V. KANE has given a succinct review of the history of the Kāyastha as borne out by literature and historical records. He concludes after an examination of Smṛtis, Dramas, Kāvya, Inscriptions and other literature that the Kāyastha "was originally an official entrusted with state or public writing work."

To the bitter castigation of the Kāyastha noted by Mm. KANE from Uśanas, Yājñavalkya and Kalhaṇa, I may add the satires of Kṣemendra in his *Kalāvīlāsa*<sup>1</sup> and the *Narmamālā*.<sup>2</sup> Canto 5 of the *Kalāvīlāsa* is devoted to Moha or cheating in a subtle form and its manifestation in the words and writing of the Kāyastha (Śl. 1. Kāyasthānām mukhe ca lekhe ca). The canto itself is styled Kāyastha carita, opens with a description of the Kāyasthas and their unscrupulous ways, then enumerates 16 kalās or tricks of cunning which they display in their work and then narrates a fanciful legend of the Kāyasthas as tale-bearers and obstacles to others' betterment. From the initial description we see that their deceit resided both in their mouths and their documents (śl. 1). From śl. 2 we gather that at the magic-act of the Kāyasthas, a whole fieldful of ripe corn-produce would disappear. From śl. 4, we know that they would impose exorbitant fines (Pṛthudanḍanipāta), that they were nightmares of accounts, (gaṇanāgaṇanapīṣāca), and that they went about with the badge of their trade, the Bhūrja leaves in which they wrote (Bhūrjadhvajā). In śl. 6, reference is made to their being unreliable. In the next verse, we see the picture of the earth shedding tears at the tyranny of these knights of pen and ink (kālamāgra nigatamaṣi etc.). Śl. 8 tells us of the fantastic markings which they made and confounded people with (Aṅka nyāsaiḥ viṣamaiḥ); the same crooked markings in the Bhūrja leaves are again mentioned in śl. 10. By a mere erasing of a simple stroke, they made 'haves' into 'have nots' (Rekhāmātra vināśāt, etc.).

In the next section, śls. 12-17, 16 secret tricks of their trade (Gūḍhakaḷās) are enumerated; a few of them are not clear and a few probably contain reference to more than one trick.

1. Crooked writing (so that they might read it as they pleased). 2. Erasing of all marks. 3. Satatapraveśasaṅgrahalokakalā—obscure. 4. Showing an excess of expenditure. 5. Putting up list of dues to be received yet. 6. Putting up excuses for not handing over receipts. 7. Cooking up of balance. 8. Eating up of the entire collections. 9. Hiding the produce of the land. 10. Showing wastage and loss in the produce. 11. Krayamāṇaiḥ bharaṇakalā—Obscure. 12. The K. M. text reads here योजनचर्यादिभिः क्षयकला च । This must be as a verse in the author's *Narmamālā* shows, भोजन etc., and means using up funds and stores as bāta and staying allowances. 13. As a last resort, the very destruction of the Bhūrja documents.

The last section is taken up by a funny story of a poor devotee of Śiva whom Śiva is about to bless with a boon. Suddenly Śiva feels one of his skulls pressing him. On being asked privately why it pressed, the skull tells Śiva that if Śiva blessed the servant with a boon, the servant would no longer serve. The cleverness of the skull tempts Śiva to ask the skull about its history, and out comes the information that in life, it was the skull of a Kāyastha! Śiva blesses the poor

1. *Kavyamālā Guccaka* I, Pp. 59-63.

2. *Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā* Kashmir Texts, 40, 1923.

3. *Narmamālā*, I. 117 : अथ भाजनचर्यादिभ्यर्पदेशः सहस्रशः । तस्य यक्षेश्वरस्येव निधा-

devotee and casts off the skull. Would that all masters treat in like manner the ear-biting departmental reptiles !

To this same theme of Kāyastha, Kṣemendra devotes again a whole minor poem of his, the Narmamālā. Kalhaṇa notes in the Rājatarangīṇī the domination and tyranny of the Kāyasthas in more than one reign and records also the attempts of some kings to put them down. According to Kṣemendra's Narmamālā, Kashmir was suffering from them till the time of Ananta (A.D. 1028) and that Ananta completely rid the administration of these (śls. 3-4).

Kṣemendra first starts with a legendary story of the Kāyastha being the incarnation of the accountant (Gaṇanāpati) of the Asuras, born with the emblem of ink and pen (śl. 16). On earth, he was the offspring of a butcher and a potter's wife ; a butcher, perhaps, because of his unscrupulous nature and a potter's wife, perhaps, because she sits with tincture and stick to draw lines on the pottery. Both in the Kalāvilāsa and the Narmamālā, Kṣemendra uses the worst word to describe the Kāyastha ; he called the Kāyastha 'excreta' (Śakṛta... iva—Kalā, V. 45 and Puriṣair iva—Narma. I. 22). Among the accessories of his job are ink, pen, a bag of Bhūrja leaves and a pair of scissors to cut the leaves (25). He is a domestic manager (Prāpa gṛhākṛtyam. 32). His friend is the Niyogin who went out on his duty (Kāryadūtam niyoginam 43). The Gṛhākṛtyādhipati was also called *Mahattama* (60), and the Niyogin went out as his agent to plunder the temples. A highly competent rogue is made by them the *Paripālaka* of a temple (55-6). The *Paripālaka* is followed by the *Lekhādhikārī* (74), one who would be stretching one hand for the money and go on writing with the other (78). *Gaṇjādivira*, the next link in this chain, is then exposed. The Niyogin's punishment comprehended starvation of cattle and breaking open and destroying houses (122) ; some of the attendants of the prime Kāyasthāvatāra are called *Dvārabhaṇjaka*, *Dhūmaketu* and *Gṛhōlmuka*. Erasing accounts and equalising expenses with income are then referred to (133-135). The last type of Kāyastha described in Ch. I here is the *Grāma-divira*. Kṣemendra's exclamation in I. 146 is strikingly modern : "O, the all-successful ink ! O, the all-mighty pen !"

अहो भगवती कार्यसर्वसिद्धिप्रदा मयी ।

अहो प्रबलवान् कोऽपि कलमः कमलाश्रयः ॥

The major part of Ch. II is taken up with a ruthless exposing of the morals of the wives of these upstarts. Towards the end Kṣemendra draws the picture of the court-accountant, with pen struck up at his ear, and hand full with Bhūrja leaves. The agents of this *Āsthāna-divira* are called 'Bhūrja Bhaṭṭas', who specialise in bribe-taking. In its next, the last, chapter, a much coarser attack on the Kāyasthas is launched.

The rich details of Kṣemendra's satire give us scope to envisage the whole range of administration over which the Kāyastha or Kirāṭa<sup>4</sup> or Divira ran amok in his bigger manifestations as officers and lesser forms as agents and clerks. The iconography of the Kāyastha painted here, ink, pen, bag of leaves and scissors, emphasise his writing job ; the tricks and details of havoc played by him show him as the keeper of documents, managing institutions and collecting revenues. The Gṛhākṛtyādhipati is the prime Kāyastha ; the Niyogin is his mobile contact-officer ; Paripālakas were his appointees for the management of institutions ; *Lekhakas* are the writers ; each village got its *Grāma-divira* ; and at the Court also, he had his book-keeper, the *Āsthāna-divira*. Kāyastha thus meant any government official or employee in general, and one in charge of revenues and accounts in particular.

4. The name Kirāṭa is used by both Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa.



The word *Kāyastha* is discussed by Śrī. B. KAKATĪ of Gauhati in *NIA*, VI, 3, p. 49. He concludes that "most probably it is a non-Āryan formation Sanskritised." He says: "Its primary meaning is 'a writer' .... But though it is invariably associated with writing, there is nothing in the formation to show any connection with it. If looked upon as an *OIA* Sanskrit word, its meaning would be something like 'staying in a body' which is observed in its usual connotation of a writer." Śrī. KAKATĪ then gives some Austric parallels having the sound-constituents *Ka*, *ia* or *ai*, and *th* and the sense-set of marking, scratching and writing and comes to the conclusion that *Kāyastha* may well be a Sanskritisation of a non-Āryan formation like *Kaiathoh*.

It is not known from history that at any time a foreign community of writers came to be employed for writing accounts. Secondly, *Kāya* in Sanskrit itself means, according to lexicons, a mark, *Lakṣa* or *Aṅka*.<sup>5</sup> Two better known meanings of the Sanskrit word *Kāya* are 'Multitude' and 'Capital money—*mūladhana*.' Both these meanings of *Kāya* appear to me to be helpful to this discussion of the meaning of the word *Kāyastha*. If *Kāya* is the Capital, the *Kāyastha* may be the person who keeps it and its account. As meaning 'multitude' or 'corpus', *Kāya* is on a par with its body-meaning synonym *Śarīra*. *Āyaśarīra* and *Vyayaśarīra* meaning the corpus of income and expenditure are expressions used by Kautīlya (*Arthasāstra* II. 6.24). If a semantic enlargement is possible from the income to the agency of the income, *Āyaśarīra* or *Āyakāya* may not be an absurd designation for a department of the government. *Kāya* can be as elastic as its English equivalent 'body'; *Kāyastha* which means a government official or an accountant or a clerk may well be a person "staying in the body," i.e. one belonging to a department of the administration.

V. RAGHAVAN

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5. In Tamil, we have the word *Kāya* meaning scar-mark or wound: and Telugu has *Ghāya*, corresponding to the Mahratti word *Ghāya*, to be derived perhaps from *Ghāta*. In Tamil literature, *Kāya* as wound occurs very late in literature. The earlier word *Kāya* in Tamil, Rao Sahib S. Vaiyapuri PILLAI informs me, is different and means 'a spice added to dishes.'

## REVIEW

*Sāmānyabhāṣa-vijñāna* (in Hindi), by Dr. Babu Ram Saksena, M.A., D. Litt. Published by Hindi Sāhitya Sammelan, Prayāg, S. 1999, pp. 256.

This book marks an epoch in the History of Hindi literature, because for the first time in the history of that Literature we have before us a standard work on the whole domain of General Linguistics written by an Indian linguist of recognized authority. The author evinces in this book an enviable lucidity in the treatment of a subject which is often ridiculed as "dull." He combines in himself, as appears from his presentation of the subject, the art of the teacher with the art of an entertaining conversationist. Only a rarely gifted person could make Linguistics presentable and attractive. The Hindi Sāhitya Sammelan is to be congratulated on securing a personality like Dr. Saksena for the accomplishment of this arduous task. The following notable beauties of this book may be mentioned :—

I. Very interesting indeed is the treatment of the "Evolution of language" (Chapter V). The instances given are entirely from known life; the linguistic examples given are all from languages already known, like Hindi and English. In no case should this be considered as a translation of foreign works. It is foreign works adapted to known conditions, which can be the work only of a brain.

II. The chapters on the classification of languages are interesting far beyond my expectation. Generally this part of linguistics, as commonly presented in books, is rather dull, but the details given by the author are all short and sweet and are bound to interest a reader who may be an entire novice in the subject.

III. The Xth Chapter on "mixed sounds" is remarkably illuminating on an item which would be otherwise repulsive to a layman. The author is to be congratulated on this achievement.

IV. The 12th Chapter, on "the structure of the word" throws a flood of light on the various aspects of this difficult theme and the amount of material presented therein is copious, rich and pithy.

V. The treatment of Dialectology in the 17th Chapter is masterly, and is a result of personal observations of dialectical phenomena in the country. The intricate phenomena peculiar to standard Hindi, the various forms which even *खड़ी बोली* has assumed, the interaction of standard Hindi and its dialects—all these have been treated with a remarkable penetration. This survey will give more knowledge of Linguistics to the general reader than many other works put together, written in foreign languages. The presentation of Dialectology in this book is so interesting that it reads like a novel.

VI. The sixth Chapter on the "Basic origin of Evolution" is a mine of data from Indo-Aryan, being evidently the result of the author's years and years of observation of Indian linguistic phenomena. In this chapter he gives a wealth of examples some of which may be of use even to advanced linguists, e.g. *नौकलेज*, the Tongawalla's name for the "Science College in the Benares Hindu University" and *अनवरसिद्धि* for University." It seems to me that a dire necessity will some day be felt for an English version of Dr. Saksena's work, for linguistic works actually used in Indian Colleges generally offer material from Non-Indian languages. The result is that students are fed up with the subject; it never really interests them; they manage to cram certain works for the sake of passing their exams.

VII. The choice of suitable technical terms in a language is always an arduous task, but some of the terms introduced by the author are very happy, some of which may be mentioned below as examples :—

(1) सुर for "pitch-accent" but स्वर for a vowel,—a happy differentiation from a single original.

(2) सम्बन्धतत्त्व for "morpheme"—a term more expressive than the original English word.

(3) अर्थतत्त्व for "Semanteme"—certainly more comprehensible than the English word.

(4) अविकारी for "Direct case," but विकारी for "oblique case."

It may sound ungrateful insolence to offer any criticism on such an epoch-making book, but the admirably progressive spirit of the author would love to be criticised. In view of this, therefore, the following observations may be made in this connection :—

I. The most startling shortcoming of the book is the absence of a subject-index. That such a high-class scientific work—a mine of first-rate gems in Linguistics—should be without a subject-index would be unthinkable if it were to be published in Europe. But what makes it even more astounding is the fact that there is not even a table of contents! One could not conceive of a feature more damaging to the wide circulation of this lovely book than this deplorable incident.

II. The 25th Chapter, being a historical retrospect of Linguistics, is by far the most interesting and useful chapter in the whole work. It would have been better for the beginner if the author had started his book with this chapter. It would have roused an immediate enthusiasm for the subject in the general reader. In fact this is the method followed by the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and, in spite of its evident drawbacks, it works in the long run much better than the common textbook method.

III. Of the Indo-European and Indo-Aryan languages, the linguistic features of only a few have been given. It would have been linguistically far more interesting, if one or two unique or very remarkable phonetic or grammatical features of each of these languages had been given.

IV. In the classification of languages, the description of Lithuanian is too meagre (p. 175). Of all European languages, it is *the* language which should mostly interest an Indo-Aryan speaker, for even at the present day it amazingly resembles Sanskrit in several respects.

V. The author, while distinguishing between language and dialect (p. 102), has rightly pointed out one test, viz. comprehensibility. If a speaker can comprehend another neighbouring speech easily, without a guide or instructor, it will be taken as another dialect of the same language; but there is another equally important test of a different dialect which the author has not mentioned, viz. unpronounceability. The speaker of dialect A may easily comprehend dialect B, but even a sentence of dialect B pronounced by him will convince the speaker of dialect B that this sentence is from some other dialect. So comprehensibility and pronounceability are the two common features of one and the same dialect; comprehensibility and unpronounceability are the distinguishing features of two different dialects while both incomprehensibility and unpronounceability differentiate one language from another.

VI. The author does not seem to adequately appreciate the place of Gesture in language, for on p. 5 he says

"परन्तु इस भाषाविज्ञान के अध्ययनमें इन हंगितों का विचार करने नहीं बैठते."

Perhaps the 300 pages denoted by Wundt to the study of gesture-language have not come to the author's notice. Wundt has pointed out how important the part of gesture in many languages, such as those of Naples and Red Indians is. A few aboriginal tribes in Australia have necessarily to burn fire in the night while conversing at that time, for without the actual sight of gestures, their sentences remain incomplete. In some primitive languages at present, there are no personal pronouns, which are indicated only by gesture.

VII. In the treatment of Semantics, the author has ably pointed out the flux and variation of meaning in the child's language and in various contexts. But he has neither discussed the nature of meaning, nor the way in which it is originally picked up by the child. In fact the treatment of the psychological aspects of Linguistics in this book is rather meagre and inadequate.

VIII. The author's phraseology that '(the theory of the original home of Aryans (i.e. Indo-Europeans) being Asia Minor gets sufficient (काफी) support' (p. 164) requires a little alteration. I should put "considerable" (बहुत कुछ). For a single inscription from Boghazkoi cannot be a sufficient evidence for their original home being Asia minor. To establish the sufficiency of this evidence, objections shall have to be fully anticipated. On what grounds should it *not* be maintained that the mitanni people, surrounded as they were by non-Indo-European people were mere colonists from a distant region? On what grounds should it not be maintained that the mitanni people were colonists belonging to Indo-Aryans, not even Indo- Iranians because most of the Gods mentioned therein are Indo-Aryan, not Indo-Iranian?

IX. The author does not give any convincing positive reasons for the substitution of "Aryan" for "Indo-European." On the one hand he points out the absurdity of taking Aryan as a social term, on the other hand he refers to Hitler and his compatriots who cherish the word "Aryan." But he ignores the fact that Germans take "Aryan" in the social sense, the absurdity of which in matters of Linguistics he has himself pointed out. No doubt I fully agree with him that "Indo-European" is a heavier term, nor do I assert that this term is free from objections, but to discard a current term without adequate grounds would be only to create unnecessary confusion. He refers to Jespersen's adoption of the term "Aryan." But it should be borne in mind that Jespersen is not a philologist, although he is a general linguist of the highest rank. In philology he betrays old-fashioned tendencies here and there. When in all philological works mostly used by us at the present day, "Aryan" is confined to Indo-Iranian, to use it in a wider sense would be creating not only confusion, but sometimes even misunderstanding.

X. In his treatment of phonetic change, the author exaggerates the contribution of "Ease," when he says "इस का मूल कारण प्रयत्नलक्ष्य है" (p. 56). Certainly this "ease" is a very important stage in phonetic change, but it is only *one* stage. Linguistic change is rather like a circle, in which one stage follows another, while sometimes the so-called stages become factors simultaneously combining to produce a change. When the "Ease stage" has reduced a word, the speaker finds it, in course of time, that the reduced word has become too small to be expressive, so the stage of "extension" starts. Thus in Bhadrwahi, corresponding to Skr. hima-, we have hiūtōro "winter." The author himself describes these extensions on p. 32, though he has not adequately appreciated them.

XI. While the author has given excessive importance to "Ease" as a factor of phonetic change, he has almost entirely neglected an equally important factor, viz. Analogy. No doubt in the 15th Chapter on the "origin of the evolution of words" he recognizes the value of analogy in word-building, but is the part of analogy insignificant in phonetic change? For analogy affects not only the morphological aspects of words, but also their phonetic aspects. For instance, women of little education in the Punjab pronounce the English word "Cinema" as 'silma' because they are accustomed to another Punjabi word 'silma' meaning "embroidery." If U. P. people pronounce the English word "school" as Iskul or āṁkuṁ with a prothetic I. or [ə] is it not an analogical extension of their own tendency to use aprothetic vowel before every initial consonant group?

XII. A considerable portion of the 8th Chapter on the "classification of

sounds" is extremely difficult for the beginner. Most of the terms given there are too difficult and have not been explained. In fact nearly the whole of this chapter requires to be re-written.

XIII. On p. 58 (cf p. 45) the author says that [ट] in Pāṇini's time was retroflex in North India, but now it is alveolar there. I do not know on what grounds he makes such a general statement. It may be true of certain territories of North India, but it is certainly not true of Punjabi, Lahnda, Western Pahari and Kashmiri areas, which are also a portion of North India. The [ट] in these areas is decidedly retroflex.

XIV. On p. 162 the statement "आदिम भाषा में मूलस्वर वर्तमानसूचक पदों में और शून्य (मूल-स्वर-सहित) भूतकालवाची पदों में रहता था" requires a careful modification. In Indo-European the antithesis was not between Present and Past, but between the Present and the Aorist stems. The examples दधामि-हित-हित- are misleading, for the corresponding original word for हित- in the older language was, strictly speaking, an adjective; only later, in some Indo-European languages, it acquired a secondary sense of past passive participle. The Present-stem in Indo-European essentially stands for "durative action" and not the present TIME, while the Aorist-stem stands for "momentary" or "accomplished action."

XV. The author has taken considerable pains (pp. 196-199) to show that a sentence is a mere fragment and lacks in totality. I am afraid this cannot be accepted as a universal principle. If I ask my servant, "Bring a glass of water," the glass is brought and there the matter ends. This sentence of mine is an independent totality and it has not necessarily any connection with other sentences. The truth seems to be that there are sentences and sentences; some have a totality, others not. Those which are spoken in long dialogues, or those which are abbreviated like "नमस्" cited by the author, are fragmentary; others like the one illustrated above are a totality.

XVI. On p. 47 there occurs the following unattested generalization:—

"आधुनिक भाषाओं में चवर्ग की ध्वनियाँ स्पर्श-संघर्षी हैं केवल-स्पर्श नहीं." This remark would be accepted if established by a survey of palatals spoken in the languages of the whole world, or if the author implies only the languages of our own country, the languages of the whole of India. But even my observation of Lahnda would disprove this statement. For in Lahnda the palatals are not affricates, but plosives.

XVII. About the neuter gender in modern Indo-Aryan, the author says:

"केवल गुजराती, मराठी और सिंधली में उस की थोड़ी बहुत निशानी बाकी है". (p. 190). It seems that my paper on "neuter gender in Bhadawahi" (read before the Oriental Conference, Lahore, 1928) or my paper on "the dialects of the Khasāli group" has not come to the author's notice. In these languages the Neuter Gender has assumed various forms on a remarkably vast scale. The same could also be said of the Khāsi language discovered by me in 1940 in the North-Western Himalayas, the full details of which I have not yet published.

XVIII. The Sikh Granth, according to the author (p. 194) is in the Punjabi language. This is not linguistically correct, for this work, on the whole, is written in Western Hindi with plenty of "Punjabisms" therein.

XIX. On p. 49 there occurs a statement which requires a little alteration, for otherwise it may be misunderstood. It runs as follows:— "आर्यभाषाओं में सुर का कभी बहुत महत्त्व नहीं रहा." It should be so altered as to signify that in Vedic Indo-Aryan, comparatively speaking, the pitch accent had not so much importance for the DIFFERENTIATION OF MEANING. Otherwise the importance of pronouncing the right accent was very great indeed.

XX. The 14th Chapter, on the "Parts of Speech" is a curiosity. On the whole, it is one of the best chapters in the book, wonderfully informative in a short compass, but contains statements such as "यदि इसी प्रकार किसी भाषा की संज्ञाओं को उनके मूलरूप तक पहुँचाया जाय तो उन की तहमें किया ही मिलेगी" (p. 83). Such a statement, in the emphatic phraseology in which it has been expressed, would be astounding to a modern linguist. Of course the author could not have in mind monosyllabic languages like Chinese, though he uses the word "ANY language." But even in Indo-Aryan there are hundreds of words which it is impossible to trace to any verb. What verbs could one find for instance, at the basis of Sanskrit numerals? Could we accept the ridiculous verbs which Yāska reads in them? The statement, therefore, requires a little boiling down.

XXI. The author traces 'ह्र' to अस्ति, which is at least questionable, for P I A s + t does not normally give (h). It is this difficulty which has led Prof. Turner to trace 'ह्र' to PIA aks.—

XXII. The choice of technical terms is always a difficult task. In my opinion it can be efficiently done only by a Committee of experts, who thoroughly discuss each term from various points of view before it is finally adopted. I wish a temporary journal for the choice of technical terms in Hindi were started, in which people actively interested were to take part. While full credit must be given to the author for his struggles to coin Hindi terms apparently single-handed, and while it must be admitted that many of his terms have been happily chosen, as pointed out above, there are others which are questionable. For this task of such a momentous importance it is in fact necessary to start from a fundamental principle. The principle which, in my opinion, should govern the whole of such a task is that if a real popularity of Linguistics among Hindi knowing people is desired, then, as a rule, only those Sanskrit technical terms shall be adopted which have become already a part of Hindi literature. Obscure ancient Sanskrit linguistic terms, which are not known even to Sanskritists in general should be strictly avoided, and new words coined based partly on New Indo-Aryan (including Perso-Arabic words actually adopted by Hindi) and partly on Sanskrit, the form best comprehensible to be selected.

The following examples will illustrate the scope of this principle :-

(1) On p. 45 the author gives [श] as an example of वृत्त्ये. The term has not been explained by him, nor has it been given in the Index of technical terms, where, however, वृत्तभाग "alveolar region" occurs, from which we could conclude that वृत्त्ये means "Alveolars." Now although this term occurs in the Rgveda Prāti-Sākhya, the term is too difficult to be understood even by the average Sanskritist. Now the above mentioned principle would require that an easily comprehensible term should be coined instead of an obscure Sanskrit term. Could we find such a term? The Usmania University has adopted "दांतबैठकी" for alveolars, for दांतबैठक according to Dr. Abdulhaq's English-Urdu Lexicon, is the Urdu word for the alveolar region, and therefrom दांतबैठकी was easily formed. I do by no means suggest that the author should adopt this term for alveolars, what I mean to say is that some such term more easily comprehensible than, वृत्त्ये should be coined, if Linguistics is to exist among Hindi-knowing people.

(2) The author uses बलाघात for stress-accent. Now बलाघात is not so difficult as वृत्त्ये, but the question is, could not an easier word be selected? For the above-mentioned principle would require the easiest possible word to be used. In ancient Sanskrit works on phonetics प्रयत्न was often used along with स्वर—, so that स्वरप्रयत्न was described as a common phenomenon in speech. प्रयत्न most probably signified "stress," though no definition thereof is available in our ancient

books. At any rate, प्रयत्न is worthy of being considered as being possibly an easier term. The Usmania University has adopted "दबाओ" a term worthy of consideration. I wish we had a band of workers with us to take statistics whether the majority of Hindi knowing people would comprehend बलाघात, प्रयत्न or दबाओ. The one best comprehended would be adopted, according to the principle mentioned above.

(3) For fricatives the author, on p. 40, used संघर्षवर्ण, though he has given it in the list of technical terms, only संघर्षित्व, "fiction" being given. Now here comes our principle again. Could not a more comprehensible term be selected? The Usmania University has adopted "रगड़ाल", which is more comprehensible, a तत्सम or a तद्भव word?

XXIII. The following miscellaneous observations may be made about a few of the terms used:—

(1) On p. 45 a differentiation has been made between तालव्य and मूर्धन्य. तालव्य has not been explained, nor has it been given in the index of technical terms, though ताल, "palate" occurs, but the example of तालव्य has been given as follows:—"कठोर तालवाले ट आदि उत्तर भारतके" This would mislead the beginner; the palatals proper चवर्ण and (ज्ञ) ought to have been mentioned under this heading. (ज्ञ), in many languages, is not वर्त्य but तालव्य-वर्त्य (palatod-alveolar as Prof. Daniel JONES calls it).

(2) On p. 46 a term उक्षिप्त has been given, which has not been mentioned in the index of technical terms. I am unable to follow the term, nor do I know how the reader will take it. If it stands for flapped, it is not expressive enough.

(3) On p. 55 "Sonority" has been rendered as स्वरत्व, but as the book takes the basic word स्वर in the sense of a vowel, स्वरत्व will not fit in with the literal meaning of sonority. A more befitting term like श्रुतिगोचरता, श्राव्यता, etc. may be searched for.

(4) The index of technical terms renders गुण as "quality," but a confusion would arise from the use of this term in Chapter IX, in which we read "माग, सुर और बलाघात-यह तीन ध्वनियोंके गुण कहलाते हैं" (p. 48). For in phonetics quality and quantity are often taken as opposite terms, and the quantity of a sound is said to be independent of its quality, but if quantity is taken as an ingredient of quality, a fundamental principle of Phonetics will be violated. It seems that by गुण, in the title of the 9th Chapter, is meant prominence, for in Phonetics quantity, pitch and stress are said to be ingredients of prominence. If this is intended, some other term was required, in order to avoid confusion with quality.

(5) On p. 44 the symbols [रे] and [औ] have been used for [e] and [i], while later on [ऐ, ओ] have been used occasionally, and more correctly, for them. On pp. 53-54 the author himself uses the same symbols ऐ and आ sometimes as "मूलस्वर" and sometimes as "मिश्रस्वर". They should be symbolically and technically kept strictly apart.

But the above shortcomings could in no way affect the sterling qualities of this grand work, on the appearance of which all lovers of Hindi learning should be congratulated. Pp. 173-195 of this book should be made compulsory in all higher Hindi Examinations, as they describe the place of Hindi in Indo-Iranian languages in a wonderfully illuminating manner. No Library would be worth the name without this book.

# SOME NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF INDIAN DIETETICS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE HISTORY OF JALEBĪ

By

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A systematic history of Indian Dietetics is still a desideratum. Such a history should include among other things the history of each article of Indian diet, vegetarian or non-vegetarian, reconstructed on the strength of materials found in special works on Cookery<sup>1</sup> or in works on Indian Medicine and corroborated by references to it in Jain, Brahmanical or Buddhist works, not to say the literature in the Indian vernaculars<sup>2</sup> as also Persian and other foreign literature that may have been produced after their contact with Indian life and literature. Such a study on historical lines will enable us to see clearly what progress we have made in our diet since ancient times. Additions to our diet consequent upon foreign cultural contact will be clearly indicated in their chronological perspective. This is a vast subject if we

1. The *Gṛhinī Śikṣakā* by Mrs. Savitribai JOSHI, Bombay, 1929, records the following books on the subject :—

(1) अष्टांगहृदय of Vāgbhaṭa, (2) भावप्रकाश of Bhāvamisra, (3) वनौषधिगुणादर्श by PADE ŚĀSTRĪ, (4) पाकदर्पण of नल (5) पाकशास्त्र by YASODĀ DEVI, (6) रिकामपणची कामगिरी by Ramābhāi GARGE, (7) गृहिणीमित्र by Lakṣmibai DHURANDHAR, (8) चर्यापद्माकर (Satyaśodhak Press), (9) पाकदर्पण (Ahmedabad Press), (10) चर्याचंद्रोदय by Dattārām PĀTHAK, (11) रसव्यञ्जनप्रकाश by Gaṅgāviṣṇu Śrī Kṛṣṇadās, (12) व्यञ्जनपाकप्रदीप by Siddha Kavi, (13) भोजनदर्पणकला by N. R. KADAM, (14) महाराष्ट्रीय स्वयंपाक (Baroda State Series), (15) पाकशास्त्र (Satyaśodhak Press), (16) चर्यादर्पण by Pandit Raghunath PRASAD.

2. Vide Marathi versified commentary on the *Bhagavadgita* called चमत्कारी टीका (Hubli, 1925) by Ramā-Vallabhadāsa, p. 403 Ramā-Vallabhadāsa explains “अन्नं चतुर्विधम्” (Gita XV, 14) and refers to several articles of diet as follows :—

“चतुर्विधं अन्नं कोणं काय । तैः पंडुरायनं न दना ऐक ॥ ३० ॥ दुग्धघृत शर्करैः सौ घेणै । दही इत्यादि ‘पेय’ बोलणें । कथिका सांबरिया ‘लेह्य’ म्हणें । वरणें चाटणें या लागीं ॥ ३१ ॥ आंबे जांबळ बोरें चारें । चोखनि खाती म्हणनि ‘चोष्य’ बा रे । चारोळ्या द्राक्षें खोबरे इत्यादि बरें खाद्य जाण ॥ ३२ ॥ घडा घारी तेलवरी रोटी पोळी मांडा सांजवरी । खांडवी भात गुळवरी । हेही परी खाद्याची ॥ ३३ ॥ रोटी पोळी श्रीरभात । इत्यादि कास षड्वी गणतात । कां दही दूध तूप लेणी खाद्य etc.”

Ramā Vallabhadāsa was born in Śaka 1531 - A.D. 1609 (Vide p. 3 of *Intro.*). He composed his दशकनिर्धार प्रकरण in Śaka 1555 - A.D. 1633 (p. 15). Śaka 1558 (= A.D. 1636) is referred to in his work called “गुरुवर्ज्य” (p. 16). ज्ञानेश्वरी does not give these articles of diet.



attempt it at one stretch but it would prove easy to pursue, if every article<sup>3</sup> of diet is studied separately in a historical manner as I propose to show in this paper on the history of one of the richest and the most favourite dishes in Maharashtra and especially in Poona. This dish is no other than *jilabi* or *jilbi* which MOLESWORTH<sup>4</sup> calls a "sweetmeat" but records no details about it in his celebrated Dictionary. In the *Hobson-Jobson*<sup>5</sup> we find the following information about this dish :—

"JELABEE S. Hind. *jalebi* [which is apparently a corruption of the Arabic *zalābiya*, P. *zalībiya*]. A rich sweetmeat made of sugar and ghee, with a little flour, melted and trickled into a pan so as to form a kind of interlaced work, when baked.

[1870—"The poison is said to have been given once in Sweetmeats, JELABEES"—*Chevers. Med. Jurisp.* 178].

If the Marathi *jilabi* has its origin in the Arabic word *zalābiya* as mentioned in the above extract the early history of this popular dish can be easily supplied by Arabic scholars. What interests me in the present paper is the history of this

3. References to articles of diet may be found in Sanskrit literature in addition to those in works on cookery or dietetics. For instance the following description in the *Damayanīkathā* or *Nala Campū* of Trivikramabhaṭṭa (A.D. 915—See Keith. *HSL.*, p. 332) will be read with interest :—

[P. 97 of *Nalacampū* (Ucchvāsa III), Bombay 1885]—

"तस्यां च बहुविस्तीर्णस्वर्णभोजनपात्रपत्रशङ्खशुक्तिसनाथायामुपविष्टस्यास्यै क्रमेण परिकर-  
माभ्य गाढमादौकन्त स्वस्य स्वस्यानुहारिणोऽन्नविशेषानादाय सूपकाराः सूपकाराङ्गनाथ । तथाहि भक्ता-  
स्तस्यभक्तम्, मुद्रा मुद्रान्, मोदका मोदकान्, अशोकवर्तिन्योऽशोकवर्तीः, समांसा मांसम्, नानाशकाः  
शाकानि, व्यञ्जना व्यञ्जनम्, अपरास्तु काश्चिदक्षीराक्षारम्, अघारिका अपि घारिणीः, परिवेषयासुः ।

सोऽप्यधीशो भूभुजां भुजानो भोज्यम्, लिह्लेह्यम्, आस्वादयन्स्वाद, चूषयच्चूष्याणि, पिब-  
न्येयानि, आहारमकरोत् "

P. 250: The Kitchen is described as follows :—

"विविधानपाक परिमलमनोहरे महानसमरुति, निर्वर्तितमज्जनादिक्रियाकलापे, भजति भोजनभुवं  
भूभुजि, बहिः सूपकारकलः समुल्लास । "

P. 252—Dinner preparations on an enormous scale for feeding the army are finely described :—

"लमाः सर्वतो दृश्यन्ते पर्वताः पक्वाग्रस्य, राशयः शाल्योदनस्य, स्तूपाः सूपस्य, निर्झराः सर्पिषः,  
सिन्धवो मधुनः, निकराः शर्करायाः स्रोतांसि दधिदुग्धयोः, शैलाः शाकानाम्, निपानानि पानकानाम्,  
कुल्याः फल्सतानाम्, कूटाः कषायाम्ल्लवणतित्कमधुरोपदशानाम् । एवमकापेयमिच्छया भोजितं  
सैन्यम् । "

Vide *Mychakaṭika*, IV (verse 28)—Vidūṣaka's description of a house with the kitchen, characterized by "हिङ्गुनैलग्न्ध" "विविधसुरभिधूमोद्गार", "बहुविधभक्ष्यभोजन गन्ध", मोदकाः, अपूपकाः etc.

4. *Marathi-English Dictionary*, Bombay, 1857—p. 318 "जिलबी or जलबी (Hindustāni) The name of a sweetmeat." In the *Dictionary of Hindi Language* by J. D. BATE, (Lazarus & Co. Benares) 1875, p. 239 we have "जलेबी = (f) a kind of sweetmeat."

5. By YULE and BURNELL, London, 1903, p. 458.

6. STEINGASS in his Persian-English Dictionary, p. 619 notes the word *Zalābiya* — A thin pancake.

dish and its introduction in Indian diet. All the aspects of this history cannot be dealt with by me owing to my limited knowledge of the varied historical sources which are likely to throw some searchlight on this problem. I shall, however, record some evidence to prove the antiquity of this dish on Indian soil for about 500 years, leaving it to lexicographers, philologists and historians to pursue this antiquity further on the strength of usages of the name of this dish in early mediæval records.

In the recently completed Marathi Dictionary<sup>8</sup> we have the following account of *jilabi* : -

7. I may record here some works on Dietetics and Cookery—AUFRECHT : CCI, 332—“ पाकादिसंग्रह Med. B. 4. 228 ” - पाकाध्याय Med. Oxi. 319b, B. 4. 228 (dated Samvat 1823 = A.D. 1767) पाकावली Med. IO 42. Pheh. 2. Radh 32 (*bṛhātī* and *laghvi*) Burnell 69a. Oppert 1007. Peters. 3,399”

CCII, 74—“ पाकमार्तण्ड or पाकावली Med. BL. 232 ”—“ पाकशास्त्र Cookery by भीमसेन. Gov. Or. Libr. Madras 49 ” - पाकार्णव Peters. 4. 40. - पाकावली Med. IO 42 (2098 different) Peters 4.40.—

CCIII, 71— पाकमार्तण्ड on various medicaments and their preparation AK 932.— पाकशास्त्र Cookery Bd. 983— पाकसुधाकर—Med. Quoted by the author of the पाकमार्तण्ड AK Pref. p. 17— पाकावली Med. by “ उपाध्याय सारस्वतकुलोद्भव ” Peters 5.540.

Madras Des. Cata. XXIII (Medicine) 1918— भोजनकुतूहल—(Nos. 13296, 13297, 13298) in Grantha and Telugu Characters by रघुनाथ pupil of अनंतदेव—deals with foods and their properties.

Madras MS<sup>9</sup> (No. 13381) of सूयशास्त्र is described as a treatise bearing on Cookery (108 pp.). It is in Canarese Characters. The work is attributed to भीमसेन (pp. 9009-10 of Madras Cata. XXIII (1918)).

In the Govt. MSS Library there is a MS of भोजनकुतूहल (No. 594 of 1899-1915) containing 89 folios. Its author is रघुनाथ who refers to one कृष्णनाथ in the closing verses which read as follows : “ इत्थं विमथ्य गुणपाठसुधां वुराशी । लब्धापरा-मृतरसं सुरसं च तस्मात् । निर्मादं भोजनकुतूहलमीश्वराणां । तोषाय यातु परितुष्यतु कृष्णनाथः ॥ संसेवितान गुरवस्तरवश्च दृष्ट्या । यैर्निक्षितौ जनपदेषु च तेषु तेषु । भैषज्यतंत्रमपि नैव कृतं स्वतंत्रं । तेषां कृतेष्वपि कृतं रघुनाथ नाम्ना ॥ श्री कृष्णनाथं मनसा विहाय । श्री कृष्णनाथस्य विधाय मेवां यो वायुदेवः प्रथितः पृथिव्यां । श्री कृष्णनाथः परितोषमेतु ॥ इति श्री विद्वद्भट्टवचनपादारविंदं श्री कृष्णनाथदयोदयस्य रघुनाथविदुषः कृतां भोजनकुतूहले द्रव्यगुणागुणकथनं नाम प्रथम-परिच्छेदः ॥ १ ॥

8. *Mahārāṣṭra Sabdakośa*, Vibhāga III, 1934, pp. 1309-10.

“ जिल (ली) बी—बी. एक मोठे पकाव; मैद्याच्या पिठांत लिंबाचा रस, तूप, उडदाचें पीठ व दही मिश्र करून तें मिश्रण दुसऱ्या दिवशीं जिलबीपात्रांनं तुपांत तळून साखरेच्या पाकांत टाकून केलेला कच्च्याच्या आकाराचा वाटोळा पदार्थ. —गृ. शि. १. ४१३. जिलेबी असें जुनं रूप आहे. [ हिं. जलेबी जिलेबी ] ”

The reference “गृ. शि. १. ४१३.” in the above extract means page 413 of गृहिणीशिक्षक, Part I by Mrs. Savitribai JOSHI, published by Tukaram Pundalik Shetye, Madhavabag, Bombay 4. P. 544. On page 413 the methods of preparing two kinds

of जिलबी are given. These two kinds are :-

"*Jila(li)bi*—f. a rich dish. (An article of diet made of flour, lemon juice, ghee, curds, sugar etc. and having a circular shape). *Jilebi* is an old form of the word. [*Hindustani*—*Jalebi*, *Jilebi*]." •

It would thus be seen that the extracts from the lexicons recorded above give no usage of the word except the one of A.D. 1870 recorded in the *Hobson-Jobson*. It is, therefore, necessary that an attempt should be made to record some usages<sup>9</sup> of the word *jilabi* and its other forms with a view to study the antiquity of this popular<sup>10</sup> dish in Mahārāṣṭra, which is closely associated with all important social functions and ceremonies, attended with dinners. The Marathi Encyclopædia viz. the *Jñānakāṣā* by Dr. S. V. Ketkar contains no article on *Jilabi* though in the *Hobson-Jobson* we find such an article as pointed out by me already.

(1) जिलबी and (2) केन्डी जिलबी in which ripe plantains are pounded and mixed up with flour etc.

See also सूत्रशास्त्र by Ravāji Śrīdhar GONDHLEKAR, Poona (p. 96). Pp. 33-34 of this book are devoted to जिलबी.

9. There is a Hindi MS of *Pākaśāstra* in the Govt. MSS Library (No. 1501 of 1891-95) folios 18. On folio 16 of this MS two methods of preparing जलेबी are described ("अथ जलेबी बनाइवेके प्रकार" "अथ सकरकंदकी जलेबी का प्रकार") The MS appears to be about 200 years old. I am unable to fix the chronology of this work as I have not analysed its contents.

10. My friend Prof. Siddheswar VARMA of Jammu (Kashmir) informs me in a letter dated 19th March 1940:

"We have throughout upper India a sweet, very popular indeed called *jalebi* (जलेबी). Our *jalebi* is not a dish, it is a sweet sold at the confectioner's shop. It is prepared by using up thin flour and sugar and fried in ghee. It is not confined to any festive occasion; it could be eaten on any day. Pandits on this side translate the Sanskrit word कर्ण-शङ्कुली as कर्ण-जलेबी for the शङ्कुली for the ear almost exactly resembles the form of जलेबी." Prof. VARMA also reports that he is not aware of any references to जलेबी in Indian medieval literature or the Persian and Arabic Literature.

Two other friends from Bengal and Karnāṭak respectively have been kind enough to supply the following information about *jalebi*:—(1) Dr. D. C. Sirkar, M.A., Ph.D. writes under date 1-5-1940 (Calcutta):—"I think you are right in connecting *jilabi* with an Arabic word. I do not know any use of the word in Sanskrit or Prakrit literature. This particular sweetmeat, however, appears to be popular in different parts of India. It is very popular in Bengal and is known in different parts of the province as *jilebi*, *jilipi*, *jilāpi*, *zelāpi* etc. The Bengali idiom *jilāpir pae* (or *pāk*) meaning the tortuous folds of the *jilipi* = crookedness is proverbial. It is made of flour and paste of *māsh*, *kalāy*, *dāl* (a kind of pulse). The mixture of the two things is then mixed with some water; a little of the mixture put into a cocoanut-shell bowl and let through its hole into boiling oil or ghee would make the thing which is next put into sugar boiled with water. This is *jilipi*.

It is quite well known in modern Bengali literature."

(2) Dr. A. P. KARMARKAR, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. of Dharwar writes under date 27-3-1940:—"Jilabi is current in all the parts of Karnāṭak. It is also called *jilibili* in Mysore and some of the other parts of Karnāṭak. It is also pronounced as *Jilabū*, *Jilebi*, *Jilebbu* (cf. Kittel's Dictionary). In the Tamil lexicon published by the University of Madras the word is said to be current in the Tamil country as *Jilepi*. Further it is said to have been derived from Hindi *Jalabi* (which seems to be the same is *Zalabia*)."

I think the above reports regarding the popularity of *Jalebi* in Kashmir, Karnāṭak, Bengal are sufficient to establish its hold on the popular palate in India.

The Peshwa period<sup>11</sup> of the Marāṭha history bristles with references to dinners given to Brahmins (*Brāhmaṇa-bhojana*) with *dakṣiṇā* as enjoined by the Hindu *dharmaśāstra* and we are likely to get some references to *jilabi* in the accounts and expenditure of these dinners found at times in the records of the Peshwas between A.D. 1700 and say about A.D. 1818, the year which heralded the British advent in India. Any references prior to A.D. 1700 would, therefore, be very useful for my present inquiry and I request the scholars of Mahārāṣṭra to record them from any sources<sup>12</sup> whatsoever.

In the lexicon called the *Rājyavyahārakośa*<sup>13</sup> by Raghunathapant Hanumante composed about A.D. 1676-77 or immediately thereafter we find no reference to *jilabi* in the section called *Bhogyarāga*. This omission need not, however, lead us to suppose that *jilabi* was unknown in India in the 17th century as will be seen from the following evidence from a Sanskrit work on Cookery represented by a rare MS in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. This MS was copied

11. In a letter of Raghunathrao Peshwa dated 16th March 1750 (*Peshwa Dattar Selection 19—Letter No. 2*) he prescribes the treatment of Brahmins during summer season. They are to be given footwear and fans. They should also be given buttermilk, rice mixed with curds, syrup prepared from raw mangoes. When mangoes ripen they (Brahmins) should be served with a special dinner of mangoes (*āmra-bhojana*). Musk melons should be given to them. P. D. 18 Letter No. 44 of 4-2-1752 mentions भोपले, कोहले, मुगाची दाल, उडदाची दाल, पोहे (10 maunds), ordered for the Muṇja ceremony of Madhavarao Peshwa. Letter No. 111 mentions मुगदलाचा लाडू, ---Letter No. 175 of 23-6-1761 - आवल्याचा सुरबा and आंज्याचा सुरबा. Letter No. 177. 'गुलाब जांय' sent to King Shāhu.

12. Regarding reference to food in the *Mahābhārata* see C. V. VAIDYA'S *Mahābhārata-upasānhāra* (in Marathi) 1922 pp. 355-379. Mr. VAIDYA notes some articles of diet such as— खांडवराग, मांस, भात, दही, दूध, तूप, मध, कंदमुळें, फळें, तिलमिश्रित पदार्थ, वडे, गोमांस (Prohibited) खीर, खिचडी, चारगे, नांदूळ, गहू, ज्वार, सत्तू, जव, ऊंस, कांदा, लसूण, पिशितोदन etc. He quotes the following verse from. उद्योगपर्वन् (विदुर-नीति):—“आढ्यानां मांस-परमं मध्यानां गोरसोत्तरम् । तैलौत्तरं द्रिद्राणां भोजनं भरतर्षभ ॥”

13. Ed. by K. N. SANE, pp. 135-177 of *Sivacaitiupradīpa*, B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, 1925. This lexicon contains ten sections viz. राजवर्ग, कार्यस्थानवर्ग, भोग्यवर्ग, शिखरवर्ग, चतुरंगवर्ग, सामंतवर्ग, दुर्गवर्ग, लेखनवर्ग, जनपदवर्ग, पण्यवर्ग. It was composed for Shivaji the Great and contains a good list of words then current in Mahārāṣṭra. Verses 80 and 81 of the भोग्यवर्ग refer to the culinary department and persons associated with it as follows:—

“अथ पाकालयं मुद्बख्खानेति परिभाषितम् ।

मुद्बखो पाककारःस्थाञ् चासणीकार नामतु—॥ ८० ॥

रुचिप्राहीः, पाककर्मी तु स्याद द्वादशी ।

रसोयो स्यात्तु सिद्धार्थं कंदोरी त्वन्नमुच्यते ॥ ८१ ॥

verse 86, refers to drinks and eatables:—

“पानकादिरसस्थानं शर्बत्त्वानां प्रकीर्तितः ।

फलजाते तु मेवा स्यात् खुष्टरं खाद्यवस्तुनि ॥ ८६ ॥

Cf : पण्यवर्ग Verses 77

“आरालिको भट्टारी स्यात् भर्जस्तु फुटाणगार ।

आपूपकः शिरीन्गारो भुसारी धान्यविक्रयी ॥ ७६ ॥”

in Sarivat 1734 = A.D. 1678 and consequently the date of composition of the original may be inferred to be earlier than say A.D. 1600. This work on *pākāśāstra*<sup>14</sup> not only mentions the name *Jalebi* but describes in detail the method of the preparation of the dish which seems to be almost identical with the modern method in material particulars as the following verses will show :-

Folio 14 of MS No. 914 of 1887-91

“अथ जलेबी कुंडलसंस्कृते

द्विप्रस्थाशुद्धशमिता चतुर्गंधूम<sup>15</sup> गालिता- ।

मिमर्धयपसा ( पयसा ? ) स्थाप्या यावदम्ल<sup>16</sup>त्वमाप्नुयात् ॥

सच्छिद्रेनारिकेरस्य<sup>17</sup> पात्रे तप्तकमादरेत् ।

परिभ्राम्य घृते तप्ते पचेत्तन्मद्वह्निना ॥

14. MS No. 983 of 1887-91 in the Govt. MSS Library is called पाकशास्त्र in the catalogue. It consists of 18 folios. It begins :—॥ श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥ अथ भक्तादि-प्रकरणं ॥ जले चतुर्दशगुणे कथिते सरवेवरान् । तंदुलानभसाधौतान् द्विखिर्वा मौक्तिका कृतीन् ॥ पृथौ शरावे शाल्यास्य स्थिते सविबरे दृढे । परितो वल्लखंडेन विसंधिपरिवेष्टिते ॥ etc.

The MS ends : “इति भोजनप्रकरणं ॥ श्रीः ॥ श्रीः ॥ संवत् १७३४ वर्षे चैत्रासित नवमी कर्मवाट्यां लिखितेयं पुस्तकम् ”

This copy was made at a place called Karmavāṭī which needs to be identified. The MS is full of पृष्ठमात्रा s. The preparations described in the work may be briefly indicated :— अथनानाभक्तगुणाः (folios 1-2) ; अथ मंडः (fol. 2) ; अथ जूषाः (fol. 3) ; मूषाः (fol. 3-4) ; पापरगुणाः (fol. 4-5) ; पायसगुणाः (fol. 5) ; पोलिकागुणाः (fol. 5) ; मंडिकाः (fol. 5) ; यमलोटिकागुणाः (fol. 6) ; पूरिकाः (fol. 6) ; कचवल्ली (fol. 6) ; वटकः (fol. 6) ; पक्वटी (fol. 7) ; पानकं (fol. 8) ; रागखांडव (fol. 8) ; शिखरणी (fol. 8) ; वासवती (fol. 8) ; संधानगुणाः (fol. 8) ; फेणिका (fol. 9) ; लडुकाः (fol. 10) ; बिंदुमोदकाः (fol. 11) ; दुग्धकरंजिकाः (fol. 12) ; पयःशृंगारकाः (fol. 12) ; क्षीरशाकं (fol. 12) ; लापसी (fol. 12) ; चंद्रहासी ( लपसिका ) (fol. 13) ; चैवरः (fol. 13) ; अपूपकः (fol. 13) ; दधिबटिका (fol. 13) ; जलेबी (fol. 14) ; माठः (fol. 14) ; इंदुरसा (fol. 14) ; कसारः (fol. 14) ; शक्नुः (fol. 15) ; कुलमाषाः (fol. 15) ; कोहरी ( घण्टी इति लोके ) (fol. 15) ; धानाः (fol. 15) ; बहुरी (fol. 15) ; उंचिका (fol. 15) ; चणकहोलकः (fol. 15) ; लारी (fol. 16) ; मांसरेधनप्रकारगुणः (fol. 16) ; भ्रादि लक्षणं (fol. 16) ; सर्वमांसप्रक्षालनप्रकारः (fol. 17) ; वेसवारः (fol. 17) ‘ इति गुण्यगुणबोधिण्यां भक्तादि प्रकरणं अथ फलशाकादि प्रकरणं (fol. 17) ; द्राक्षा (fol. 17) ; आम्रगुणाः (fol. 17) ; आंबापुरी (fol. 17) ; सामान्यजंबूगुणाः (fol. 17) ; नालिकेरगुणाः (fol. 17) ; पिंडस्वर्जरी स्वल्पस्वर्जरीगुणाः (fol. 17) ; सलेमानी (fol. 18) ; कदलीफलगुणाः (fol. 18) ; दाडिमफलं (fol. 18) :—The MS begins with the statement “अथ भक्तादिप्रकरणम्.” This प्रकरण evidently ends on folio 17 where we find the statement “इति गुण्यगुणबोधिण्यां भक्तादिप्रकरणम्” Possibly the correct name of the work is गुण्यगुणबोधिनी of which the MS represents a fragment.

15. Wheat flour corresponding to *maidā* used in modern preparation of *jalebi*.

16. Sour curds are added to obtain fermentation of the mixture.

17. The coconut cover ( नारिकेर पात्र ) is now substituted by a special जिलबीपात्र.

सुपकां कंकणाकारं<sup>18</sup> सिता मेहे विनिक्षिपेत् ।  
 सा तु कुंडलिकानाम्ना<sup>19</sup> क्वचिज्जलवल्लीका ॥<sup>20</sup>  
 जलवल्ली सरावृष्या वृंहणी हृष्टिपुष्टिदा ।  
 धातुस्तन्यकरी ह्या विशेषाबलपुष्टिदा ॥<sup>21</sup>

These verses appear to me to be important as I am not aware of any earlier description of this dish in any Sanskrit treatise. Perhaps students of Indian Medical literature will be able to discover some references to this dish from works composed say after A.D. 1000. As these verses occur in a MS of a work on Co.tery having the name "गुण्यगुणबोधिनी" (folio 17) the work itself must have been composed say before A.D. 1600. We must now trace the antiquity of *Jilabi* before A.D. 1600.

In a Jain work called the *Priyamkaraniṣṭha-Kaishā*<sup>22</sup> by Jinasūra composed earlier than A.D. 1600 we find a long passage describing a dinner given by a *Śreṣṭhi* or a rich merchant. जलेबी is mentioned in this passage among the various eatables served at this dinner. I shall reproduce this passage here as it gives us an idea of the dinner served to the guests.

Pages 28-29 of Prof. KAPADIA'S Edition of प्रियकरनृपकथा.

“ततः श्रेष्ठो भोजनावसरे सर्वं स्वजनानां स्थालीवर्तुलिकादिमण्डयित्वा शंकरापानीयं पूर्वं परिवेषयामास । ततः कुङ्कुम-कदलीफल-कोहलापाक-खारिक-खजुर-खांड-गुंदवडा-पेवर चारबी-चारोली-जलेबी<sup>23</sup>-दुप्पर-कदमीर (?)—द्राख-नीलीद्राख-दाडिमकुली-पनीस- (?)—फीणी पोडआ-बसोला-बायम-पिस्तां-अषोढ-सेलडी-भृङ्गाटिक-प्रमुख-फलावलीपरिवेषिता । ततः खाजां

18. The circular shape (कंकणाकार) remains the same even in the modern preparation.

19. कुंडलिका- Possibly it was called so on account of its resemblance to the circular shape of a कुंडल or ear-ornament.

20. जलवल्लीका and जलवल्ली appear to me to be Sanskritized terms for जलेबी which in itself is a corruption of Arabic *Zalābiya* or Persian *Zalibiya* according to *Hobson-Jobson* as we have noted already.

21. The last verse describes the tonic virtues of this rich dish. Even now it is the practice of some gymnasts to eat जलेबी occasionally.

22. Edited by Prof. H. R. KAPADIA, Sheth Devachand Lalbhai J. P. Fund Series No. 80, Surat, 1932. In the Intro. Prof. KAPADIA states that Jinasūra was the pupil of *Viśālarājaśūri* (p. 10). *Viśālarāja* had many pupils, one of whom composed a पत्रिका on वीतरागस्तोत्र in Vikrama Samvat 1512 = A.D. 1456.

*Jinasūra* must have lived say between Samvat 1512 (= A.D. 1456) and Samvat 1600 (= A.D. 1544) or rather between A.D. 1456 and 1500. If the facts regarding Jinasūra's guru mentioned by Prof. KAPADIA are correct the date of प्रियकरनृपकथा must lie between A.D. 1400 and 1500 and consequently the reference to जलेबी in this work is earlier than say A.D. 1500.

23. “टोपरां-दाडिम-द्राख-नीलीद्राख-फणस-फीणी-साटा-बरसोला-विमर्जा-पिस्तां-सिता-अखोड-बदाम-सेलडी-भृङ्गाटिक-प्रमुख ०” इति ड-पाठः

मुहाली-तिलसांकली-षषष-सांकुचिम-मांडी-मुरकी-सेवइआ लह-दलिआ लह-मोतीआ लह चारोली लह-बाजणा लह एवं पक्वान्नानि परिवेषितानि ।<sup>24</sup>

कासाञ्चित् स्त्रीणां प्रांसी लपसी, पांड सरसी स्त्री जिमइ हसी जीभे जाइ षिसी । कासाञ्चित् पापडी, किसिउ जिमइ जीभ बापडी । तदनु दूबलीइ पाडिउं, सबलीइ छडिउं इलइ इलइ सोहिउ, फूटरी स्त्रीइं धोयउ, चतुर स्त्रीनुं जोयउ, सरहरउ, भरहरउ, अणी आलउ, दूबलइ पेटि जाणे करि फोडी नीसरसिइ, जे जमिसइ तेह नइ घरनुं जिमण वीसरइ । एवंविधरायभोगशालिसत्काः पूराः परिवेषिताः । तन्नो मुद्ददाली वानी पीली, नेत्री सीली परिवेषिता । ततः सद्यस्तापितं साक्षादमृतं घृतं परिवेषितम् । ततो वहां भीनां घणि घोलि, मरीच-मीचमी-पांडमी-पापड तल्या, मुह भणी हाथवल्या राइतां षिणा ढोडी टोहूरां सालणं भाणां भरियां, पुरियां ते कित्यां तीषां कइआं कसायलां मधुरां चतुः प्रकाराणि ( रेण ) दुर्जनना हीआ सरिषां तीषां पाडोसणिनी जीभसरिषां कडुआं श्री गुहनां वचन सरिषां कसायलां मायना स्नेह जिस्थां मधुरां एवंविधशकानि परिवेषितानि, ततः प्रीस्थां घोलाल्यां, ( बाळे माथे पल्यां ) घणेंदेसाउरे भम्यां इणी परइ नथी जिम्या । केषाञ्चिजनानां घणिंदे-धरदे-गजदेतकत्रयं परिवेषितम् । यामिहंसितं तामां कूरमथे गजदेतकं स्वच्छं चन्द्रबिम्बं परिवेषितम् । कूरः कण्डे लम इष्टवत् ताभिः पुंकारितम् । गले खरखरो जातः । तदा भगिन्या प्रोक्तम्—हे भगिन्यः । अद्यतनं भोजनं सामान्यं मदृढमत्कं खरखरदस्ति । ताभिः क्तं—हे भगिनि ! भोजनं न, परं तव वचनम् त्वयाऽपमानफलं दर्शितम् । ततस्तया मुतरां दधीनीमुक्तानी । ”

The above extract containing the reference to *jalebi* occurs in a work of about A.D. 1450 and if this chronology is correct we may safely say that this dish was current in India in the 15th century and has been getting popular in an increasing degree during the last 500 years.

In a Sanskrit work on Dietetics called the *Bhojana-Kutūhala*<sup>25</sup> which belongs-

24. Cf. the भोजनविधि Section of the *Hamsarilāsa* of Hamsarāṭṭhu (G. O. Series, Baroda, 1937) p. 228 The vegetables mentioned are राजिका, रजनी, कुस्तुम्बरी (कोथिंबीर), ककंदी, कोषातकी, कूष्माण्ड, सूरण, वृन्ताक, कारवेल्ली, ककंदक, पटोल, मेघनाद, नुम्बीफल. Other articles of diet :—सन्धानानि ( निम्बवात्र ककंदद्रव्यं करमईकीराद्यैः रचितानि, पायसं, पूरिकाः, वटकाः, पपेटाः, पिण्डाः ( =पेदे in Marathi described as वहिसाधित दुग्धखण्डोद्भवाः एलादिलसिताः ), लड्डुकाः, पोलिकाः, भक्तः, सूपाः, क्षीरं, दधि, द्वयज्ञवीनं, कदलीफलानि, आम्राणि, राज्ञी फलानि, जम्बू, पनस, खर्बूज, नालिकेराणि, माहिषंसर्पिः Use of betel-nut after dinner : “सुरप्रसूनेलाचूर्णितकमुक्कशकलीकृत जातीफलशुभ्रखदिरस्वच्छपूर्ण-चन्द्रादिभिः पुटीकृतानि नागवल्लीदलानि ” On p. 317 the definitions of the three articles of food viz. श्रीखण्ड, काजी and कद्वी are recorded as follows :

“खण्डायुक्तदधिमन्थनोत्थितो रस एलादिवासितः श्रीखण्डः ” “रामठादिवासितनूत्नमृद्भाण्डे निक्षिप्तं तैलादिपक्ववटकसंयुक्तं तर्कं काञ्जी इति कादयां प्रसिद्धम् ”

“चणकादिपिष्ट कथितं बाल्हिकराजिकारजनिमरीचादियुतमपि च तर्कं कद्वी इतिख्यातम् ”

25. Vide MS No. 594 of 1899-1915 ( भोजनकुतूहल ) which is dated Saka 1725 = A.D. 1803 ( “ शके १७२५ रुधिराद्वारी नाम संवत्सरे चैत्र कृष्ण चतुर्दश्यां सौम्य-वासरे इदं ग्रन्थः समाप्तमगमत् ” ) The work contains about 59 *prakaraṇas* as follows :—

(1) भोजनविधि, (2) धान्य, (3) शूकधान्य, (4) शिबिधान्य, (5) तुणधान्य, (6) मृष्टधान्य, (7) सिद्धात, (8) भक्त, (9) क्षीरी, (10) सूप, (11) सार, (12) भक्ष्याणि, (13) मांस, (14) कडकणादि,

to the 17th century we find a description of *jilabi* and the method of its preparation as follows :—

Folio 20—

“ नूतनो घटमादाय तस्यांतः कुशलोजनः ।  
प्रस्थार्धे परिमाणेन दध्नाम्लेण त्रलेपयेत् ॥  
द्विप्रस्थां समितां तत्र दध्यम्लं प्रस्थसंमितं ।  
घृतमर्धशरावं च घोलत्वा घटे क्षिपेत् ॥  
आतपे स्थापयेत्तावत् यावद्याति तदम्लताम् ।  
ततस्तत्प्रक्षिपेत्पात्रे सच्छिद्रे भाजनेन तत् ॥  
परिभ्राम्य परिभ्राम्य तत्संततघृते क्षिपेत् ।  
पुनः पुनस्तदावृत्य विदध्यात् मंडलाकृतिः ॥  
तां सुपकां घृताग्नीत्वा सितापाके तनुद्वे ।  
कर्पूरादि सुगंधं च श्रपइत्वोधरेत्ततः ॥  
एषा कुंडलिनानाम्ना पुष्टिकांतिबलप्रदा ।  
धातुवृद्धिकरी वृष्या रुच्या चंद्रिय तर्पणी ॥ इति जिलेबी ११२६

(15) शाक, (16) मूलकंददि, (17) पत्रशाक, (18) करीर, (19) फलादि, (20) हरीतकी, (21) आम्र, (22) पुष्प, (23) कवक, (24) हारीत, (25) उपदंश, (26) कर्चयः, (27) संभारः (28) दतयः, (29) कृत्रिम-घृतकरणं, (30) कृत्रिम शर्करा, (31) पानकानि, (32) कांजिक, (33) दुग्ध, (34) दधि, (35) शिखरिणि, (36) सरमस्तु, (37) तक्र, (38) नवनीत, (39) घृत, (40) तैल, (41) इष्टु, (42) गुड, (43) शर्करा, (44) मधु, (45) मांस, (46) जल, (47) विषपरीक्षा, (48) विरुद्धद्रव्य, (49) पथ्यापथ्याभ्यास, (50) संयोग-विरुद्धानि, (51) जन्मनक्षत्रवृक्ष (52) भोजनकाल, (53) भोजनभाजनानि, (54) भोजपत्राणि, (55) भोजन-प्रकारः, (56) तांबूल, (57) मर्दन, (58) उपभोगार्हवस्त्राणि, (59) कांडीर. This work, mentions भावप्रकाश (of भावमिश्र—16th Century) folios 2, 45; राजनिघंट (fol. 3); वाग्भट (fol. 3); प्रयोगपारिजात (fol. 4); क्रियासार (fol. 11); योगसार (fol. 17); सुषेण (fol. 17); हृदयदीप (fol. 25); केयदेव (fol. 26); चरक (fol. 28); मदनपालनिघंट (fol. 36); निघंटसार (fol. 53); भोजः (fol. 65); अजीर्णमंजरी (fol. 82); धन्वंतरि निघंट (34) वृद्धसुश्रुत (fol. 77).

The *Catalogue of Tübingen MSS* (1899) p. 74 describes a MS of the *Bhojana Kutūhala* by Raghunātha, son of Anantadevadaya (Pariccheda I). Burnell (p. 73) had no good opinion about the author of this work as he observes :—“the pedant who compiled this absurd book was a native of South India and lived late in the 17th or in the beginning of the 18th century A.D.”

See also p. 7488 of *Tanjore MSS Catal.* Vol. XVI, 1933—MSS of भोजनकृतुइल Nos. 11238, 11239, 11240, 11241, and 11242. MS No. 11238 is said to have been “written about 1750 A.D.” MS. No. 11237 is of पाकदर्पण attributed to Nala. It was printed in the Kashi Sans. Series in 1915.

26 Cf. Page 35 of Mulk Raj ANAND'S “Curries and other Indian Dishes”. London 1932—“a deep iron pan (or Karahi) for frying *jalebis*, *pukoras* etc.” On p. 104 the author gives the recipe for *jalebi* :

*Materials* :— (1) 1 lb. ordinary white flour, (2) ½ lb whole meal flour, (3) 4 lbs. granulated sugar, (4) 1 lb lard, (5) A few gold or silver leaves, (6) some rose water. Boil the sugar in a little water to make a thick Syrup. Knead the flour together with the water to form a batter. Leave it for a day or two till it becomes sour. Then mix in half a pound of whole-meal flour. Melt the lard in a deep pan. When the lard is boiling pour the batter into whatever shape it is desired to make the



The foregoing verses bear close resemblance to those from the MS of the *Pākasāstra* (dated A.D. 1678) referring to the preparation and properties of *jalebi* dish. In some respects they are an improvement on the earlier verses. It is quite possible that our author Raghunātha had before him these earlier verses as would appear from the parallelism of an objective character noticeable between the two passages. If this indebtedness of Raghunātha is accepted we may be not wrong in assigning his work to about 1700 A.D. I have, however, proved elsewhere that the work was composed before A.D. 1680 or so by this author, who was an intimate friend of Saint Rāmadāsa and lived between A.D. 1640 and 1712. Raghunātha uses almost modern Marathi names for some of the articles of diet described by him. These articles are too numerous to be recorded in this paper but they furnish us with a comprehensive basis for a historical study of Indian dietetics. They also raise our curiosity to know what articles of diet were current in different parts of India in different centuries of the Christian era and even before the Christian era. To satisfy this curiosity we must record lists of such articles of diet from different dated sources. Though this work is beyond the scope of my present paper I shall record here a list of articles of diet current in the *Mahārāṣṭra* in the 13th century based on the *Līlācaritra*<sup>27</sup> a Mahānubhāva text of the 13th century.<sup>28</sup> This list as prepared from the published edition of this work is as follows :—

ताक भातु I, 5.

दहीभाताचा उंडा I, 39, दधीभावु III, 94, IV, 12 ( दहीभावु ),

वरण भात, I, 43, वरण भातु, (IV, 12).

पाणीभावु, I, 49.

( डेरीचा ) भातु, III, 4.

तुपें भातु, III, 27; तुप भातु, IV, 48.

भातु, III, 41, 75 ( भातु रांधिला ) भाताचिया डेपा.

आंबिल भातु, IV, 12, 13.

भात, IV, 15.

“ भातांत दुध घातलें । ताकाचें बोट लाविलें, ” IV, 21.

कंदमूळफळ, I, 6.

तांबूळ, I, 8; तांबोळ, I, 20; तांबोळ प्रहण, III, 14, IV, 8.

*jalebi* through a coconut shell with a hole at the bottom. (The shape of the *jalebi* is usually round. When one side of it is fried turn it with perforated spoon and drop the *jalebi* into boiling syrup and leave for about five minutes. Then lift it out and put it aside in a dish. Sprinkle over it a little rose water to give the *jalebis* a nice flavour. Decorate with gold or silver leaves.” (It is of interest to note here that the frontis piece of the above book is a picture of *Rādhā* in the *Kitchen* reproduced from a Rajput painting in the Lahore Museum).

27. Ed. by H. N. NENE, Nagpur, Part I (1936); Part II (1936); Part III (1937); Part IV (1937).

28. Compare the following list of fruits and articles of diet recorded in *Chinese MS* of A.D. 934 :—Page 333 of *Bulletin* (School of Ori. Studies, London) 1940—Vol. X, Pt. 2. (1) Walnut, (2) persimon, (3) elm seeds, (4) grape-vine, (5) water melon, (6) pumpkin, (7) cucumber, (8) white gourd, (9) calabash or bottle gourd, (10) lotus, (11) quince, (12) wild raspberry, (13) lotus root, (14) water-chestnut, (15) refined sugar, (16) raw sugar, (17) taro “ Juice expressed from the pounded leaves of a water-melon will, if rubbed on the scalp cause hair to grow where none was before.” . . . . “ the seeds and root of the lotus plant, if eaten after being stored for a thousand years will prevent hunger and so etherealize the body that it is able to fly in marvellous fashion.” (article on “dated Chinese Documents in the Stein collection” by Lionel Jiles.)

चाटणी, I. 18.

आंबील, I. 18.

हूरडा, I. 18 : हुरडा भाजविला (IV, 61).

लाह, I. 44.

सेवखंडे, I. 44.

कणिक, तांबूल, तुप, I. 49 : II. 15.

केळे, नारीएळे, पाने, पोफळे, II. 11 : III. 109. पाने, पोफळे, दबणा, I. 52 : दबणा, III. 36. दबणे यांचे बाफे III. 36.

हिंथु, मीरिये, जीरे, साकर, II. 15.

तेल रोटी, II. 19. अर्ब रोटी, दीड रोटी, II. 26.

उकड, II. 19 : उकड, (IV. 43).

कणिक रोटी, II. 26 : केळे रोटी II. 45.

( देउगिरीची ) पोफळे, ( नागसरीचे ) आले, II. 29.

केळे, आंबे, II. 29 : आंबे याचे घड, II. 48 ( दामाचे पाच ) आंबे III. 62.

( तांबडवटी ) तुप, II. 43.

गंडकोदक, II. 44. 46

दहिदुध, II. 47 : ( गाडुगाभरि ) दुध, III. 3.

उदंबरें, उदंबरें, II. 55.

केळे खा ( आज एकादशी ), III. 3.

मूठीकळा (=मुटकुळा ), III. 4.

निंबाचें पान, III. 7.

गुळा मिरियाचिया आंगारिका, III. 14.

खीरि ( सरवळेयाची, तांदुळाची ), III. 14

( चुलीवरिल ) रांधणें, III. 20.

कोंडा, III. 21.

बदरी फळे, बोरें, III. 24 : बोरीची बोरें, III. 27.

चणक, चणे यांचा पेवें, पांढरे चणे, III. 24. चणा (III. 57)

ताटी ठाणवै, III. 27.

द्राक्षाचा घड, द्राक्षाचा मांडउ, III. 32.

ताक आंबिल ( सुनाचेनि हातें दीयावेजी ), III. 40.

मांडे III. 41.

पुरीया, III. 41.

घारिया, III. 41.

अमृतफळे, III. 41 : IV. 54.

भातु, III. 41.

सेव, III. 41.

सरवळे, III. 41.

लाडु III. 41. ( सुगरिणीचे खड्ड सात पांच मूसळें मेळउनि, कोडिके नाहिति )

IV, 14 ; लाडुवा पाकु पुरल (IV, 52) ;

तिळोवे, III, 41.

शाकवटी, III, 54.

तुळसी, III, 44.

गुळ, गहुं, मीरीये, तेल, III, 54 ;

सोजी III, 41. फुल्लसोजी (IV, 53).

शेव ( केली, तळिली ), III, 54.

साकर फुटाणे, सोळे, III, 56.

धीडरी,<sup>29</sup> III, 57. ( धीडरी करा — धीडरी रांधावी — डाळि दळुनि भीजत घातली — चणे सोंडिएवरि भरविले ); धीडरी (IV, 14). IV, 26, 48 (उडीदां जोन्हळेयाची...धीडरी) IV, 53.

मीठ मोहरी III, 73.

जोन्हळे, III, 76 ; जोंधळे (IV, 48).

उडीदात्र, III, 80 ; वडे, कोरडेवडे, आंबिचे वडे, III, 99 — वडे

वडे तुप, III, 81 ; वडे प्रधान उपहार केला, III, 99.

हिरवा, वेढाडा, III, 93.

लोणिचें, III, 94 ; लोणसणें, (IV, 43).

चीकसा तेल, III, 116 (दीवाळी सण); III, 117— वोवाळणी; होळी ए सणा IV, 57.

( भाउबीजे ) मोदक, III, 119.

आइत ( करवीली ), (III, 119). लाडू, सोजी, शेव III, 119 ;

वालुकें ( पीकलीं, कोंबळीं ), IV, 7. IV, 15.

निंबू IV, 11.

लोकांचा ( डाळीचा ) थापडा, IV, 11.

पक्काम, IV, 11, 15.

छीदोरी ( सोडिली ), IV, 12.

तेल मीठ, IV, 14.

पोळी, IV, 11 ;

भाकर, IV, 14. भाकरि IV, 43

वरण, IV, 14.

पालमाडे (IV, 43). ( पालमाडा घासु बोळिति )

कडी, कालण, IV, 48.

गहुं, चणे, जोंधळे, IV, 51.

आहीता, IV, 53 (Cf. आइत —III, 119).

दुध, साकर तुप, मीरीयाची पूर, IV, 53.

पापड, IV, 54.

कणीसें, IV, 61 ( जोंधळे याचे कण दोनि पाडिले )

29. Saint Rāmdās (17th Century) refers in his *Dāsabodha* (XVIII, i. 9, 10, 11) to some articles of diet such as वडे, थिरडी, कोरवडे, दही, वडे, कांदे, भरीत, रोवणे, etc. while describing the *naivedya* before certain gods.

The articles of diet as we find them mentioned in the *Līlācaritra* of the 13th century make it clear that the Mahārāṣṭra diet has not undergone any material changes so far as major articles of average diet are concerned. Of course the dish *Jilabi* is not to be found in the foregoing list,<sup>30</sup> though, as we have recorded above it makes its appearance in the articles of diet in the middle of the 16th century in Gujarat.<sup>30</sup> We must therefore, investigate at what stage of our contact with foreigners the dish *Jilabi* has been picked up by us and made our own.

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30. The author of the *Līlācaritra* (Part II, p. 49) shows some acquaintance with the Gujarati language of the 13th century as the following extract shows :—

“ सर्वेष्टे मृणीतले : माति : माइहां कोइ नयी : कांही नयी : कमलाइ : शोभु : उंडु नाही : बाइ  
एकी थी : भिक्षा इत इहांछो : हीराइसा : चांगले राउळ नेणो : बागदेवो राउळ नेणो : मातारी ( म्हातारी )  
एकी छे : ते गांवसा हें भिक्षा मागन गैइ छे : इत इहां अच्छें : तथा : माहातुमे : बाहातुमे : कांही नयी :  
इत इहां छो : मग गेल्ल : ॥ २ ॥ ”

# THE RĀKṢASA-VIVĀHA AND THE PAIŚĀCA-VIVĀHA

By

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It is well known that Ancient Indian Legislation present all the forms of marriage—the last two of which were the Rākṣasa-vivāha and the Paiśāca-vivāha—as being in use during the period of the Smṛtis' validity.

These forms of marriage, although included in the Dharmaśāstras, were most probably relics from ancient times, when capture was a common form of marriage. Probably in the times when the Dharmaśāstras were of value these forms of marriage were already, from the point of view of law, no longer permissible.

The task of this short paper will be to prove on the basis of legal rules, found in the Dharmaśāstras, that, although in one place the Dharmaśāstras mention the Rākṣasa- and the Paiśāca-vivāha, in another they do not permit the use of them. Of the most important law-sources, the Rākṣasa-vivāha and the Paiśāca-vivāha are quoted in Manu (Mn.), Yājñavalkya (Y.), Baudhāyana (B.), Nārada (N.), Āpastamba (Āp.), Vāsiṣṭha (Vas.), Viṣṇu (Vi.), Bṛhaspati (Brh.), Hārta (Hār.), Deva (Dev.), Sāṅkhāyana (Sāṅkh.), Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (K.), Āśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra (Āśv.), Mahābhārata (Mbh.), Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra (Kām.), and Pāṇcasāyaka (Pañc.).

1. The Rākṣasa form of marriage (also called Kṣatra) is "a marriage by capture" says Sāṅkh. (IV-6), briefly. What is meant by "capture" according to the ancient jurists we can see from other Smṛtis.

Capture is a "forcible abduction" says Mn. (III-34), G. (IV-12), Vas. (I-34), B. (I-11-20-8), Vi. (XXIV-25), N. (XII-43), K. (III 2), Mbh. (XIII-44), Y. (I-61), Pañc. (by Schmidt 529) and similar Āp. (II, 15, 12, 2), Āśv. (I-68), Kām. (31, 231), Hār. (Vir. Saṁskāra 856), Dev. (Vir. Saṁs. 857). Abducted must be the maiden say Mn. (III-33), Āp. (II, 5, 12, 2), N. (XII-43), Mbh. (XXII-44), Pañc. (by Schmidt 529), Hār. (Vir. Saṁs. 857), Dev. (in Vir. Saṁs. 857), who will be wedded (Mbh. XIII-44). He who takes her away is her suitor, bridegroom is the saying of some Smṛtis like Mbh. (XIII-44), Kām. (31-231), Vi. (XXIV-25), Vas. (I-34), Āśv. (I-6-8). This suitor or bridegroom was obliged after the abduction to proceed with the marriage according to Kām. (31-231). The forcible abduction could take place at night according to Pañc. (by Schmidt 519) from the house, (home) of the maiden, or her father's house, according to Mn. (III-33) and Pañc. (by Schmidt 519), or from a public garden, when the maiden was going there (Kām. 31, 231), or from a village, when she was going to another village (Kām. 31, 231), that is from one village to another according to the commentator of Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra (31, 231).

Those are the *essentia negotii* of the Rākṣasa-vivāha. But the Smṛtis give often in the ślokas (which concern this form of marriage) a kind of commentary as to what must be understood by the expression "forcible abduction." From these sentences it can be seen that the abduction was not allowed to be symbolical but had to be real.

The captor was obliged when capturing a maiden from a house to break open the house of her kinsmen or guardians, according to Mn. (III-33) and Pañc. (by Schmidt 529) and wage war, as Y. (I-51) and similarly Dev. (Vir. Saṁs. 857) very well declare on her guardians (Kām. 31, 231) that is, according to Jayamaṅgala commentator on Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra the protectors of the women (Jayamaṅgala to Kām. 31, 231). It is clear that the expression "guardians" must be understood to mean also her father (Āp. II-5, 12, 2) or her kinsmen (Mbh. XIII-44, Mn. III-33, Āp. II-5, 12, 9, Vas. I-34, Āśv. I-6, 8). The expression found in Y. (I-61) "wage

war" means, according to Āp. (II-5 12, 2), that the captor had to overcome the guardians. Vas. (I-34) is of the opinion that they i.e. the guardians had to be destroyed by force of arms, according to Kām. (31, 231) attacked, according to Hār. (Vir. Smṛs. 856) attacked and chastised. This is not cruel enough for the legislators. They rule that in this "war" the guardians, in the confusion (Pañc. by Schmidt 529), must be killed, according to Kām. (31, 231), Mn. (III-33), Āśv. (I-6, 8), Pañc. (by Schmidt 529), and beheaded, according to Āśv. (I-6, 8) and Mbh. (XIII-44), or at least wounded according to Mn. (III-21), or violently used, according to Pañc. (by Schmidt 529). That this capture was a real capture and not a symbolic one results from that circumstance that the girl had to cry out, according to Mn. (III-33) and to weep, according to Mn. (III-33), Mbh. (XIII-44), and Āśv. (I-6, 8). It can be admitted, however on the contrary, that the cries of a girl might be a proof that this abduction was a symbolic one, because the cries had only to symbolise the resistance of the girl.

2. The Paisāca form of marriage is a marriage based on the deception of the girl as Y. (I-61) states very well. Similarly Śāṅkh. (IV 5) defines this form of marriage by saying that the Paisāca form of marriage takes place through *stratagem*. Hār. (Vir. Smṛs. 858) uses the expression "based upon want of care." Only these sources give such a definition of this form of marriage. All other sources, although using other words, determine this form of marriage as based upon seducing the girl during her insensibility or upon sexual intercourse with her while insensible. About the seduction of the girl we read in Dev. (Vir. Smṛs. 858), Mn. (III-34) where the author adds that the girl had to be seduced by stealth (Mn. III-34), and in Kaut. (III-2). About the sexual intercourse with the girl under the conditions mentioned below, we read in N. (XII-13), Baudh. (I-1, 11, 20, 9) and similarly in G. (IV-13), Vi. (XXIV-26) and Kām. (31, 230). That the seduction, or the sexual intercourse with a maiden, has to take place during her insensibility appears from all sources which are interested in these problems. Only G. (IV-13), determines that the girl has to be deprived of consciousness. Other sources like (Vi. XXIV-26, N. XII-13, Kām. 31, 230, Dev. in Vir. Smṛs. 858, Hār. in Vir. Smṛs. 858) understand that the girl is "insensible" when she is asleep and unconscious, or asleep and intoxicated, according to K. (III-2) or when she is asleep, intoxicated and out of her senses, according to Mn. (III-34) and B. (I-11, 20, 9), or when she is asleep, unconscious, mad, or in distress, according to Dev. (Vir. Smṛs. 858). According to Jayamaṅgala, the commentator on Kām. (31, 231) this form of marriage takes place when the girl who is asleep on the lap is left alone. This form of marriage is similarly defined in Āśv. (I-6, 7), where we read that the man can "carry her off, while she is sleeping or when she is not paying attention."

We see here likewise two separate *essentialia negotii* of this form of marriage. But the deception of the girl on the one hand and the seducing or sexual intercourse with a girl during her insensibility on the other, are not two different *essentialia negotii* of this form of marriage. We may see it when we read the commentaries on Y. In Y, this form of marriage is regulated as follows: "Paisāca-vivāha takes place by deceiving the girl." But what is the deception of the girl? Mit. determines that it means deceitfully and fraudently carrying away the girl while she is asleep (Mit. on Y. I-61) and Bāl. determines that it is not by force but by fraud practised on the girl (Bāl. on Y. I-61). In other words, therefore, the deception of the girl is nothing more than the abduction of the girl when she is insensible.

If the Rākṣasa-vivāha was a capture or the abduction of a girl by force, the Paisāca-vivāha was the carrying away of (or the sexual intercourse with) a girl deceitfully and fraudulently. In other words the Paisāca-vivāha only resembles a part, or special branch of the Rākṣasa-vivāha; it is only a variant of the Rākṣasa-vivāha. The difference between the Rākṣasa-vivāha and the Paisāca-vivāha is not great. In the Rākṣasa-vivāha the girl was taken away by force; in the Paisāca-

vivāha the girl was taken away by deception and fraud.

3. In all these *Smṛtis* in which the *Paiśāca-vivāha* is known, the *Rākṣasa-vivāha* takes the penultimate place in the list of the forms of marriage i.e., the seventh place (Mn. III-21, Y. I-59-61, Śāṅkh. IV-2, Vi. XXIV-19, K. III, G. IV, B. I-11, 20, N. XII-38, 39) and the *Paiśāca-vivāha* the ultimate place (Mn. III-27, Y. II-59-61, Śāṅkh. IV-2, Vi. XXIV-19, K. III, G. IV, B. I-11-20, N. XII-38-39). Only in *Āśv. Grh.* (I-6) does the *Paiśāca-vivāha* take the penultimate place and the *Rākṣasa-vivāha* the last place. In *Āp.*, a law-source which does not mention the *Paiśāca-vivāha*, the *Rākṣasa-vivāha* takes the last place and in *Vas.* (I-29) which also does not mention the *Paiśāca-vivāha*, it takes the penultimate place i.e. before the *Āsura-vivāha*.

From the interpretation of the relative rules it appears that the marriage concluded according to these forms was always effected without the participation of the father or the guardian of the girl. These forms of marriage had no pecuniary sequels because the father or the guardian did not have to give a dowry or an endowment to the girl and the suitors did not have to make any payment to the fathers or the guardians of the girl. By the act of robbery the girl came under the power of the conqueror and usually became his slave, especially in primitive times.

In the *Dharmaśāstras* we find rules that these forms of marriage are recognised as probably unlawful for the members of the *Brāhma* caste (N. XII-44, Mn. III-25), but permissible for kings (Mbh. *Ādi Parva* LXXIII). As permissible for kings these forms of marriage are also permissible for the members of the *Kṣatriya* caste (B. I-11, 20, 12, Śāṅkh. IV-3, Mn. III-24, 26, Mbh. *Ādi Parva* LXXIII, *Pañc.* 10-2526).

The *Rākṣasa-vivāha* is considered an unlawful form of marriage probably for the *Brāhma* caste (N. XII-44, Mn. III-25, Mbh. XIII, 44, *Ādi Parva* LXXIII), but it is permissible to *Vaiśyas* and *Sūdras*, according to Mn. (III-23), B. (I-11, 20, 13) and *Pañc.* (10-2526). According to the same Mn. it is permissible for the *Kṣatriyas* too (III-23). The conflicting opinions in Mn. are due to the commentators who tried to reconcile the various tricks of interpretation.

According to Mn. (III-42) and *Yāma.* (*Vir. Saṁs.* p. 865) which reproduces the words of Mn. the *Rākṣasa-vivāha* and the *Paiśāca-vivāha* should be avoided, because from blameworthy marriages blameworthy children are born to men and this form of marriage is recognised as blameworthy. We do not find in other places in Mn. the distinction between the forms of marriage as blameworthy and not (निन्दित and अनिन्दित) but only as lawful and unlawful (वर्ज्य and अवर्ज्य) Mn. III-23, 25, 26) and we also see that some forms of marriage are said to be commended (Mn. III-24).

The children born in these forms of marriage are blameworthy (Mn. III, 42, *Yāma* in *Vir. Saṁs.* 865) i.e. defective, (*Bhāṣya* to Mn. III-42).

4. We have seen that the *Rākṣasa-vivāha* and the *Paiśāca-vivāha* are based on the forcible abduction of a maiden. We find, however, in nearly all the *Dharmaśāstras* a rule stating that a forcible abduction is prohibited, because it is a crime. We also see the various punishments of the crime. In *Brh.* (XXII-18) he who steals a woman shall be placed on a bed of hot iron or burned on a fire kept up with straw. We find the same rule in *Vyāsa* (*Vivādaratnākara*, p. 317), but this source adds that the entire property of a stealer of a maiden shall be confiscated and that he shall be put to death. Y. (II-287) makes this dependent on the circumstance of whether the maiden belongs to a higher caste or not. In the first case the abductor has to be condemned to death, in the second case he has to pay the lowest fine only. According to K. the punishment depends on whether the maiden has gold ornaments on her person, or not. In the first case the highest amercement shall be imposed, in the second case a fine of 200 *panas* only (K. IV. Ch. 12). According to *Brh.* (XXII-27, 28) the thief shall be executed or he shall be fined double the amount.

According to Mn. (VIII-323) the thief shall suffer corporal punishment and according to N. (Theft 28) he shall also be deprived of his entire wealth. According to Vyāsa (Vivādaratnākara, p. 318) the fine for the stealing of a man amounts to 104 *karṣapāṇas*.

It is not the scale of the punishment which is interesting but only the fact that forcible abduction is prohibited.

5. If we admit that the Paisāca-vivāha is only a variant of the Rākṣasa-vivāha and that this form of marriage is also based on the forcible abduction, (and that is undisputable) we must apply to it all that was said about the Rākṣasa-vivāha. Thus we see that this form of marriage was not allowed either. This form of marriage must be considered as not being allowed even more so, than the Rākṣasa-vivāha because it is also based on fraud. According to the Smṛtis all the acts (documents) executed by fraud become nullified (Mn. VIII-165, Y. II-89, Vi. VII-7, N. I-137, Brh. VIII-23, Kātyāyana in Aparārka p. 686) as well as the acts executed by force (Mn. VIII-168, Y. II-89, Vi. VII-6, N. I-137, Brh. VIII-23, Yama in Parāśaramādhava Vyavahāra, p. 162). Also the seduction of the girl took place in this form of marriage during her insensibility i.e. when she was asleep, intoxicated or out of her senses. In the Smṛtis we find very often rules in which it is declared that a transaction done by a person not in full control over his action is invalid (N. I-40, K. III. ch. 1). This also applies to an intoxicated person (N. I-137, Vi. VII-10, Y. II-32, Brh. VIII-23, K. III. ch. 1).

This form of marriage is also based on the seduction of a girl i.e. most probably on a sexual intercourse against the will of the maiden. Such sexual intercourse is a very great crime according to the Smṛtis. For this crime the capital penalty is prescribed in Matsyapurāṇa (Vivādaratnākara, p. 401) and according to Y. (II-288), N. (XII-71) in the case of the girl being of a higher caste. According to other law-sources banishment is prescribed as the penalty (Āp. II-10-26-21) or as penalty the "*lex tallionis*" has to be used i.e. the amputation of the "*penis*" and "*scrotum*" (Brh. XXIII-10); or according to Kullūka commenting Mn. VIII-364 of the hands (Y. (II-288), K. (IV. ch. 12) or two fingers (N. XII-71, Saṅkh. Likh. in Aparārka, p. 859). In other sources the penalty for this crime is the confiscation of the property of the violator (Āp. II. 10, 26, 21, Brh. XXIII-10, K. IV. ch. 12).

6. If forcible abduction and fraud are prohibited and if the Dharmasāstras acknowledge that those acts are crimes, how is it possible to admit that marriage based on these acts was allowed? It is certain that they were not allowed.

So we must accept the conclusion—the Rākṣasa-vivāha and the Paisāca-vivāha are only relics in the Dharmasāstras of some forms of marriage, existing in primitive times. In the period of the Smṛtis these forms of marriage must be considered not admissible and if we find rules concerning them it must be concluded either that these rules are archaic rules—as are so many others that can be found in the Ancient Indian Law-sources,—or, that the forcible abduction was only a sham abduction and the robbery became legalised through a solemn act i.e. the wedding ceremony. That a forcible abduction without a wedding ceremony has not caused a state of marriage between the man who abducted and the girl who was abducted appears clearly from Vas. (XVII-73), where we find the rule that if a damsel has been abducted by force and has not been wedded with sacred texts she may lawfully be given to another man because she is like a maiden. A similar rule can be found in Mbh. (Ādi Parva LXXIII) where we read: "There is not the least doubt that ... our wedding ceremony may take place."

Concerning the Paisāca-vivāha another argument for this statement can be added that is, that the Āpastamba-Dharmasāstra and the Vasiṣṭha-Dharmasūtra do not mention this form of marriage.

It is improbable that the abduction according to this form of marriage could be a sham abduction, although it could probably be so in the Rākṣasa-vivāha.



## "SOME ASOKAN FORMS IN BENGALI" BY DR. S. N. SEN (NEW DELHI) (A CRITICISM)

By

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We convey our heart-felt thanks to the organisers of the "Kane-Volume" and specially to the editors, Drs. S. M. Katre and P. K. Gode for presenting to the eminent Mārāṭha scholar a volume containing so many learned discourses on Indology on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday.

Though we are full of praise for this volume, yet, about one article we maintain some amount of doubt and misgiving. It is "Survival of some Asokan forms in Seventeenth Century Bengali," by Dr. S. N. Sen (New Delhi).

The following are the points raised by the writer in his articles :--

1. D. D. Antonio, a native prince of Bengal, converted to Christianity in the 17th century wrote a book named, "Brāhman-Roman-Catholic Saṃbād" in Bengali. His composition contains some vulgar form of East Bengali. The writer of the paper asserts that Antonio's book contains an evidence of the fact that the phonology of the East-Bengal dialect has undergone but little change during these two-hundred and fifty years. But there is one exception, viz, "prob" or "prube" or "prubbe" or "probbe," which one would expect to have had occurred either as ts. "pūrva" or as tsh. "pūrv(a)."

(2) If this is a loan word in the dialect, where does it come from? The answer given is the Gimar, Shahbazaghi and Manshra versions (and not the Eastern ones) and it is probable that the East Bengal dialect borrowed it from some one of these dialects. It is, therefore, a case of "Migration."

(3) This word, moreover, is claimed to have supplied but one link in the chain of evidence with regard to the "well-known" theory that "Modern" Bengali has a close affinity with the Western Prākṛt.

(4) We want to show in the following lines that the whole theory of the writer is based on misconception about linguistic facts and principles :--

(1) As regards the first point, we think that the forms "prob" etc. have no importance whatsoever in the history of the East-Bengali phonology. The fact that a single word occurs in a single book proves nothing. It may be a scribe's mistake or a personal idiosyncrasy about pronunciation. The writer of the paper himself admits that the copy he found was a transcript and not the original one. Though he says that the original book was "carefully" transcribed meaning thereby that it was a dependable copy, he also makes a statement that it is the only copy so far known to us. If it is the "only" copy, and the original is lost, how do we know that the copy discovered is reliable or not? So the form may be merely a mistake. But the point which is more important is that the writer of the paper does not mention whether it is a general form in the East-Bengali dialect prevalent in a considerable portion of the land. I am a native of East-Bengal, and moreover of the district of Dacca, the place where Antonio had been residing at the time of writing his book and I am not aware of the fact that the "pur" of the word "pūrva" is pronounced "pra" or "pro" anywhere in East-Bengal. Even if it occurs in one of the sub-dialects of Dacca it may be taken as a strictly local vulgar form. Some pseudo-learned people may think that if vrata, mṛtyu (i.e. mṛityu) and kṛtivā (= kṛitti<sup>c</sup>) are the

correct forms of *varta*, *mirtyu*, and *kirtivās*, the correct form of *pūrba* must be *purba*. But even as such it is nowhere prevalent in the Eastern part of Bengal. There may be some phonetic tendencies common to all the dialects of East-Bengal but even in that case they may be said to be phenomena the causes of which are to be sought within the language or dialect itself, e.g. East-Bengali has some fricative-articulation for West-Bengali mutes. If the same habit of pronunciation is found in Sindhi are we to conclude that it went from Bengal to Sind or vice versa? Take another case, which I hope is well-known to the writer. East-Bengali often replaces initial *s-* by *h-*, (e.g. *hakal* for *sakal* = all). If the Avestan language has the same habit can any link regarding phonetic habit be established between these two languages?

(2) Now about the theory of "Migration." Words may travel from one part of the world to another, but like commodity it must be brought in by some people. We have words in Bengali from Persia, Portugal and England. We have such forms as *kuttā*, *bilāi* (< *billi*), *Kāuā* as opposed to West-Bengali forms *kukur*, *biḍāḷ*, *kāk*. All these have their history. But how could this single form *biḍāḷ* word migrate from North-Western Frontier Province or *Kāthiāwād* to Bengal? If it did at all come to this province, how and why of all places did it penetrate into the jungles of *Bhāwāl* without leaving any trace in the Western and other parts of Bengal? As to the time when it came the writer is silent. As regards the question, how did it come, he only interrogates and does not furnish any answer.

Regarding the "pro" in place of "pure" in the Asokan inscriptions, Dr. Sen seems to be fundamentally wrong. In the statement of Hultzsch the authority on the subject and to whom Dr. Sen refers in his article, is taken to be correct, I do not know where he can take his stand as his whole structure, however small, falls to the ground. Hultzsch writes in his *Asokan Inscriptions* :

(a) *Girnar*:- I consider it more likely that the writer wanted us to pronounce "pūrva", but committed the mistake of connecting "-r" with the "-p" instead of inserting it before the -v cf. the same spelling in the *Shahbazgarhi* and *Mansehra* versions.—Hultzsch—Intro. p. lix.

(b) *Shahbazgarhi*— As at *Girnar* there is some inconsistency in making the letter -r if it is combined with other consonants. "The order of the symbols does not conform to the actual pronunciation, but to the convenience of the combination." (Bühler). (Example of) -r combined with preceding *akṣara-* in -rv : *pruva* = *skt. pūrva*. It must be remembered that whenever the above mentioned words occur in the text, the transcript shows the imperfect spelling of the inscription, *but not the actual pronunciation*.—Hultzsch p. lxxxvii.

(c) *Mansehra*— as at *Shahbazgarhi*, the letter -r is sometimes attached to the next following consonant. Thus *nirathriya* for *nirarthiya* etc.—Hultzsch—p. xcvi.

The statements of Hultzsch regarding -pr is unambiguous and quite clear. If the writer thinks that this theory is wrong he should have had proved it philologically or if it has been refuted by some scholar that fact should also have been mentioned by him. Thus the original ground of the writers seems to be extremely shaky.

(3) As regards the third point that "Modern" Bengali has a "close" "affinity" with "Western" *Prākṛt* we must confess that we cannot quite follow what the writer means by it. What does he understand by "Modern" Bengali? The literary *sādhū bhāṣā* or the colloquial language? If the spoken language is meant, which dialect? The Western which is regarded as standard or the Eastern vulgar speech? The dialect of East-Bengal, according to the writer himself, remained unchanged at least for two hundred and fifty years. Then why not the Middle Bengali of the East? The modern form of the east might have been prevalent or the Middle from the West. Then the Middle Bengali of the West also might be connected with Western *Prākṛt*. So a general statement might be made that Middle

Bengali had affinity with the Western Prākṛt. If this is the theory, we already know that there were impositions of Western forms on the Eastern in some older stage of the language. To establish this the obscure word "prob" occurring in a single book was not needed. But to connect Modern Bengali with the Western Prākṛt! Did the *modern* form of Bengali as opposed to Middle form grow under the influence of Western Prākṛt? We leave the matter for the experts to judge.

The whole line of argument regarding this "affinity" seems to be confusing when compared with a statement made by the writer himself. He says that the East-Bengal dialect has on the whole, remained unchanged upto now at least from the 17th century, one of the exceptions being "prob." From this we must assume that "prob" used by Antonio has since been replaced by "pūrva" or "pūv(a)" in modern East-Bengali. If "prob" died out in the 17th century or early in the 18th century, how does it help in establishing the affinity of "modern" Bengali with "Western Prākṛt"? It might, if at all, establish the relationship of the Dacca dialect of the middle period with the ancient dialect of the North-Western Frontier Province or Kathiawād!

What we want to say is simply that the 'link' is not "missing" but "unreal"!

I would not have discussed this article in detail but for two reasons. Firstly had the paper been published in some current journal it could be overlooked as the work some one trying his hand at linguistic problems. But in a volume like this a reputed historian should have appeared as a historian, and not as a philologist. Secondly, in India the fact that Philology is a "science", and not a plaything for amateurs does not seem to have been realised to its fullest extent. Philological study is still in its infancy in India, and one who is otherwise known as a reputed scholar should not bring disrepute upon it.

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## OBITUARY

### D. V. APTE

By the sudden demise of Dattatreya Vishnu APTE on 27th October 1943, Oriental learning in general and Maratha history in particular loses a rare type of scholar and a silent patriot. Though born (in 1881) in ordinary circumstances he inherited from his father both his love of learning and self-sacrificing patriotism. Brought up and educated in a Maratha State, the memory of the past glories of the Maratha race formed his austere character and supplied his life's ideal. A good student of Mathematics and Sanskrit, his patriotism unconsciously led him to the field of history in his investigation of the causes of his country's downfall. After graduating from the Fergusson College in 1902 he went to Berar as a private teacher and later on started the National School of Yawatmāl. Side by side he was also writing in local journals. This school was closed by the Government in 1908 and the paper "Harikishor" also stopped not long afterwards. Apte then came to Bombay and joined the famous "Rāshtramata" daily. When the whole national movement was stopped by Government, Apte in company of some intimate friends went to Goa. His presence in the Portuguese territory gave birth to the educational and intellectual movement in that till then backward part of the country. He had already come under the spell of V. K. Rājwade and now he became his disciple. He accompanied his *guru* in a tour of Goa and Ratnagiri and collected historical material in his company in 1913 and caused the Sar-Jyotishi family in Goa to publish its papers. He returned to Poona in 1916. Drifting into unsought-for things he found himself working in Chitashālā where he afterwards became the Editor of Chitramayajagat. Side by side he was devoting all his spare time to historical research in the Bhārat Itihāsa Sansodhak Mandal. Getting hold of the archives of the Chandrachud family who were the Diwans under Holkar in the 18th century, he published a selection from their papers in 1920. He also helped Rājwade in writing and publishing the "Rādhā-Madhava—Vilāsa Champu" and other volumes. After some time he resigned his post as an Editor. Though outwardly employed, the earnings of Mr. Apte were so meagre in these days that they barely sufficed just to maintain his family in dire poverty. With the loss of employment he was in great monetary trouble. There was no income to fall back upon, and there was none in the so-called patriotic Maharashtra to pay him a bare fifty a month. He lived by selling his books and was for one month with Rao Bahadur Sardesai in Baroda in September, 1923. Returning from Gujarat, a turn in the wheel of fortune came and he became the Manager of the Anandāshrama Institute founded by the late Mahādeo Chinnāji Apte. This post he filled till his death and it gave him though not good income at least a continuous peace of mind.

It was during this last period of his life that he devoted much of his time to research work. His knowledge of Mathematics and Indian Chronology came to the fore during this period. The Anandāshrama Institute is meant for publishing the Sanskrit works stocked in its archive. There were good many Mss. of Bhaskaracharya's works there but uptill then no editor for them. The shastris on the staff would scarcely read the Mss. much less could they verify the correctness of the calculations in them. Mr. Apte put his brain into the subject and tried to verify

every statement in the work by practical experiments in astronomy. Most astronomers of the old school were merely copying the formulas and subsisting on the result. Mr. Apte dived deep into the methodology of ancient Indian Astronomy and convinced himself of its truths as far as they went. He could compare the old methodology with the up-to-date modern European method. On certain obscure points he was engaged for years and none of the modern professors of Mathematics could satisfy his queries. After prolonged thinking he himself succeeded in completely mastering the ancient methodology by his own calculations and experiments. Then only he edited the great Bhaskaracharya's works, and proved thereby that till the 14th century Indians were in advance in that science. The unfortunate part of the whole affair is, none of the modern professors seems to have grasped this field or made himself fully acquainted with it. It is to be feared that the knowledge of this ancient methodology which he had revived at great personal trouble has perhaps passed away with him.

In the field of Maratha history, Apte's name became known on account of the controversy of Shivaji's correct birth date. Therein one finds his powers fully represented in all their profundity. His knowledge of the Indian Calendar, the accuracy of his calculations, his eye for the correct points, his power of marshalling the evidence in a logical manner, all these were fully shown in this long drawn controversy. He proved to the satisfaction of all fair minded critics the correctness of his new date based on the correct evidence. But the opponents would never come into the open but sitting on their Himalayan heights still feigned to remain unconvinced by his published arguments. This had a very disastrous effect on Mr. Apte's mind. He felt the helplessness of pure scholarship when controverted with the academic-cum-social powers that be. As a result all zest and enthusiasm for research had completely left him during the last decade of his life.

Apte's intellect, complete grasp of the subject and power of expression are best seen in long introductions to the *Shiva-Bharata* of Paramananda and the history of the *Mudhol Ghorpades*. How even the smallest clue was utilised by him to great purpose and how he brought out illuminating inferences out of them can be seen in these introductions. An accurate sense of time made him arrange and piece together bit by bit the most ordinary references and made them speak for themselves. In fact insistence on the factor of time may be said to be Apte's great contribution in the field of history. He has shown that even the greatest and the most renowned historians neglect to do this primary patient work and generalise from superficial points. We know from experience that most of history will have to be written anew if Apte's method is followed in all its details.

In order to exhibit his methodology he took up the work of the Shivaji Tercentenary Volumes. The complete Calendar of all the references pertaining to the life and times of Shivaji culled from material in the various languages is a monument to Apte's powers of intellectual organisation. He in common with most other scholars of the Rajwade's school insisted on the publication of all documents before their utilization for any purpose. Apte thought even the greatest intellects as not unliable to be carried away by their wishful thinking ending in vicious argument. Those scholars who refuse to publish their material even after repeated requests naturally make themselves suspect in the academic world.

For the use of history scholars Apte prepared a very short guide to Indian Chronology. He edited the *Chronological Tables* for the hundred years from the date of birth of Shivaji. His short essays on the lives of Madhavrao Peshwa, Bajirao, Mahadaji Scindia and others throw great light on those personalities. For showing the evolution of Marathi historical material from the language point he edited the *Itihasa Manjari*. Believing that individuals ultimately form the motive force in history, he wished to gather as much information as possible about them

even from their obscure family papers and geneological tables. With this view he sponsored the movement for the publication of various family histories and that way helped to bring into light much obscure sociological material bearing on the lives of historical characters. Mr. Apte was always a willing teacher almost waiting for students. Even the most ignorant enquirer would always find a welcome from him and he never grudged the time spent on educating them. Discussion formed the main basis of his life and he was never tired of it.

Theories of history formed a constant subject of his thinking. He read avidly the works of Lord Acton, Benedetto Croce and Toynbee and discussed their theories and occasionally spoke and wrote on them. Still his soul was mainly immersed in current politics. If Apte was not able to write voluminous and standard complete histories it was due to this factor. He was more interested in the acting and making of history than in writing. Current world politics occupied a great part of his time and it was his main source of recreation. His mental condition was that of a maimed soldier incapacitated for actual work himself. Every now and then he would come to discuss various current topics with the writer of these lines and was never satisfied till he had given out his opinion on various problems agitating the modern world. He keenly felt the injustice done to anybody and would take cudgels on behalf of the injured party in any cause. In this sort of activity he exhibited the philanthropic make-up of his mind wherein he spent a good deal of his precious time and energy. But all this arduous life made him neglect perforce his own family which had always to lead a precarious existence. His personal income seldom reached three figures and all sorts of unforeseen family calamities overwhelmed him now and then. Still he was never heard of speaking a word about it to anybody and never lost his equanimity of mind. Such self-sacrifice and sweet temper bespeak a saintly Socratic mind and one's regret must always be that its sweetness was wasted on the desert air of the present day Maharashtra.

T. S. SHEJWALKAR.

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## REVIEW

*Prasasti-Saṅgraha* by Pandit K. Bhujabali SHĀSTRĪ, VIDYĀBHUSANA ; Published by the Secretary Jaina Siddhāntabhavan, Arrah, 1942 ; Pages 200 + 20 ; Size : 6½" × 9½". Price Rs. 1-8-0.

This is a good descriptive Catalogue in Hindi of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts numbering about 54 in the Library of the Jaina Siddhāntabhavan at Arrah. It is a scholarly production furnishing information about the works and their authors in a critical manner in addition to the objective description of the MSS described. Dr. A SHAMASASTRY, the veteran orientalist has contributed an Introductory note to this volume in which he rightly commends the work to the notice of scholars and expresses the hope that Pandit Bhujabali SHĀSTRĪ will continue and complete the work of cataloguing all the MSS in the Library of the Digambar Jainas in Arrah.

We are happy to note that the Jainas themselves are now devoting their attention to the work of cataloguing the MSS pertaining to their literature and philosophy. Prof. H. R. Kapadia has prepared a descriptive catalogue of Jaina MSS in the Govt. MSS. Library at the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona three parts of it have been so far published. Recently Dr. Banarsidas JAIN of Lahore has brought out his *Catalogue of the Punjab Jaina Bhandars* which though not very descriptive is still useful for scholars. The present *Prasastisaṅgraha* makes a valuable addition to the above efforts of Jainas themselves in cataloguing the rich collections of Jaina MSS in different parts of India. These examples need to be followed by other Jaina scholars as they alone can get access to rare MSS in the custody of devout Jainas at present. Once these sources of our knowledge are made known through catalogues to all scholars, Jaina or non-Jaina, their exploitation for research purposes becomes easy. Mere custody of MSS, howsoever rare and important, is not meritorious in modern times.

I close this short notice of the *Prasastisaṅgraha* by indicating the titles of works represented by the MSS described by Pandit Bhujabali Shastri. These titles are :

अर्थप्रकाशिका, अलंकारसंग्रह, कलिकुण्डाराधनाविधान, कल्याणकारक, कल्याणमन्दिर, कषाय जयभाषना, कालचविस्तर केवल ज्ञान होरा, गणधरबलयकल्प, गीतवीतराग, चन्द्रप्रभचरितव्याख्यान, जिनयज्ञफलोदय, जिनसहस्रनामटीका, जिनसंहिता, तत्त्वार्थवृत्ति, दशभक्त्यादि महाशास्त्र, दानशासन, निदान मुक्तावली, नेमिपुराण, न्यायमणिदीपिका, पञ्चनमस्कारचक्र, परसमयग्रन्थ, पार्वतपुराण, प्रतिष्ठाकल्प, प्रतिष्ठाकल्पटिप्पण, प्रतिष्ठितिलक, प्रतिष्ठाविधान, प्रमेयकण्ठिका, प्रमेयरत्नमालालंकार, प्रवचनरीक्षा, प्राकृत व्याकरण, बीजकोश, भव्यकण्ठाभरणपद्धिका, भव्यानंदशास्त्र, मदनकामरत्न-मृत्युंजयाराधनाविधान, रत्नप्रयोधापनपूजा, रत्नमञ्जूषा, रामपुराण, लोकतत्त्वविधान, वज्रपंजराराधना, विधान, वर्द्धमानकाव्य, विशालुवादांग, धीपुराण, शृंगारार्णव चन्द्रिका, षडुद्देशन प्रमाणप्रमेयानुप्रवेश, सरस्वतीकल्प, सहस्रनामाराधना, सारसंग्रह, सिद्धचक्र, हनुमच्चरित्र, हरिवंशपुराण, त्रैवर्णिकाचार.

The Index to works, persons, places etc. comprising no less than 20 pages would prove very useful to research workers.

P. K. CODE.

# WAS THE MIR'ĀT-I-SIKANDARĪ REVISED BY THE AUTHOR HIMSELF?

By

SHAIKH CHAND HUSAIN, Poona.

While describing a copy of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* I had occasion to remark that the work was in all probability revised by the author himself, and that I would deal with this problem in a separate paper. Now I propose to discuss this problem. But before I do so, I would like to state that in writing this paper I have relied upon

1. A manuscript<sup>2</sup> of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* (MS) belonging to the Bhārata Itihāsa Samshōdhaka Mandala, Poona (No. 65 in their List), transcribed in 1023/1613—*BISM*.
2. A manuscript of MS belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal,<sup>3</sup>

1. *BDCRI*, 4.7-8.

2. Dr. CHAGHATA'Ī has described this MS. in the *BDCRI*, 4.127-34. The *BISM* is, without doubt, the earliest copy known to us, but is unfortunately incomplete and defective in various respects. It differs considerably from *BM*, *ASB*, *SH*, *BBRAS*, *GL* and *BL*. Notwithstanding its early transcription (A.H. 1023/A.D. 1614), *BISM* appears to omit a number of sentences found in *SH* as also in *BBRAS*, *GB* and *BL*. To quote only a few instances, the following sentence is not to be found in *BISM* :—

”دیگر دریا خان بانی عارت دریا بور که پورہ مشہور است از احمد آباد  
فرون حصار قطب روپہ و گنبد کلان چنانچہ ذکر او بالا گذشتہ.“  
(*SH*, fol. 26 b-27 a ; *BBRAS*, fol. 95 b, ll. 9-10 ; *GB*, p. 142, line 15 ; *BL*, p. 133).

Similarly the sentence

”... سایہ آن انہی سبیل را یاد از شقت بدری و مادری میدہد“  
found in *BISM*, fol. 75 ; *GB*, p. 143 ; *BL*, p. 133, is given in *SH* thus :—  
”... سایہ آن انہی سبیل را یاد از شقت بدری و مادری میدہد و  
قول عرب اہلاً و سہلاً گویا خاصہ از سرای عابدان ابن راہ ورودیافتہ“  
(the words underlined are missing in the *BISM*).

Another point in which *BISM* is defective is in the orthography of Arabic quotations e.g. on fol. 1b, the Arabic quotation from the *Qur'ān* is written thus :—

”... و اطیعوا اللہ ( correct ) و اطیعوا الرسول ( و اطیعوا الرسول - ول  
( correct ) و الولی الامر ( و اولی الامر correct ) منکم“

Similarly in the colophon :—

”... کتبہ هذا الكتاب ( هذا الكتاب correct ) ... تاریخ جادالآخر ( جادی الاخر  
( correct ) سنہ ۱۰۲۴ ہجری“

3. We are indebted to the authorities of the Society for having lent us this valuable MS. *ASB* is one of the finest MSS. of the *Mir'āt-i-Sik.* known to me, and is written in a clear Nastaliq. The importance of this copy is enhanced by the fact that it formerly belonged to the Royal Library of the Mughal Emperors.



Calcutta (No. 195 of their Collection), transcribed in 1038/1629—*ASB*.

3. A manuscript of *MS* belonging to the British Mus., London, described by Rieu<sup>4</sup>. It was transcribed in 1042/1632—*BM*.
4. A manuscript of *MS* belonging to the Bodleian Library, Oxford<sup>5</sup>, transcribed in 1056/1647. This is a very important copy from my point of view—*EB*.
5. A manuscript of *MS* belonging to the Sātāra-Historical Museum<sup>6</sup>, at present lodged in the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona. It was copied before A.D. 1707—*SH*.
6. A manuscript of *MS* belonging to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society<sup>7</sup>. It was probably copied in the last century—*BBRAS*.
7. The lithographed edition of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari* prepared under the supervision of Captain Jarvis in 1246/1831 at Bombay. This is popularly known as the Government edition of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari*—*GL*.
8. Another lithographed edition prepared from the abovenamed edition of 1246/1831 at Bombay in 1308/1890—*BL*.

A careful and comparative study of the above-mentioned MSS. and the lithographed editions of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari* revealed to me the inevitable fact that the MSS. of the work belong to *two* distinct categories, one agreeing in general with the *BISM*, and the other agreeing in the main with the lithographed editions (*GL* and *BL*). The distinguishing features of the *first* category are that in the introduction only *THREE* earlier sources of information are mentioned, besides some other differences occurring almost on every page of the text; in the *second* category, on the other hand, no less than *FIVE* earlier works are mentioned as sources, while an enlargement seems to have been effected in the text<sup>7a</sup> which appears to have been highly improved upon as compared with that in the *first* category.

Now, the questions arise: Who did the work of enlargement and improvement? and when?

Before we come to discuss these important problems it seems to me desirable to point out that Dr. CHAGHATĀ'ī in a recent article entitled "Fath-i-Māndū," published in the Urdū journal the *Burhān*, Vol. X, No. 6 (June 1943), remarks at page 453 that he had occasion to examine *three* manus-

4. *Cat. of Pers. MSS.*, i.287-88.

5. *Cat. of the Pers. MSS. at the Bodleian Library Oxford*, pp. 144-45.

6. Described by the present writer in the *BDCRI*, 4, Number 3.

7. No. ZZ. b. 21. We are indebted to the Society for having loaned out this copy to us.

7a. I could have easily given instances of enlargement upon the text, but abstain from doing so for consideration of space.

cripts of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* from the Library of Nawwāb Sir Sālār Jung Bahādur at Hyderābād (Deccan) ; that not only the earlier two but even the latest of the three, which was transcribed in 1120/1798.9, record only *three* sources mentioned by the author ; that the MSS preserved in the Khudā-bukhsh Library, Patnā, the Pīr Muḥammad Shah Library at Aḥmadābād and the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (*BBRAS*) seem to have been transcribed in the last century, according to him, after A.D. 1830 (which should have been 1831), the date of the lithographed edition of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* ; and finally that these latter agree with the lithographed text in mentioning *five* works as the sources of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī*. Dr. CHAGHATĀ'ī further seems to wonder how these two additional sources have crept in the lithographed edition, suggesting thereby that these have been interpolated by someone in the last (nineteenth) century.

Dr. CHAGHATĀ'ī's above remarks show that he has not taken into account other known manuscripts of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī*. In the first place, as I have personally shown him, *ASB*, which was transcribed in 1038/1629, clearly mentions *FIVE* works as sources. RIEU describes *five* manuscripts, of which the earliest, Add. 26,277 (*BM*) was transcribed in 1042/1632 ; others, namely, (ii) Add. 27,253, (iii) EDGERTON, 697, (iv) Add. 6595 and (v) Add. 26,278, were transcribed in 1162/1749, 1196/1782, XVIIIth Century and 1211/1797 respectively. The earliest of these (*BM*) clearly gives the names of *FIVE* works as the sources of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī*, and as RIEU has not expressly pointed out any difference in the matter of enumerating the sources to be existing between *BM* and the rest of the manuscripts, it would be reasonable to assume that they, too, mention *five* sources. ETHERIDGE, who describes seven copies of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* (Nos. 438-43 and 3015), does not bring out the differences existing in his copies as regard to the enumeration of sources. Similarly MORLEY,<sup>7</sup> PERTSCH,<sup>8</sup> BROWNE and ROSS<sup>10</sup> do not specify any differences existing in their copies in this connection, *although they have specially referred to RIEU's description*.

From the above details it will be obvious that the second category of MSS. of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* came into being, NOT in the last century (as Dr. CHAGHATĀ'ī's remarks in the *Burhān* lead one to think), but before 1038/1629, most probably in 1022/1613, when the author himself revised the work, making a good deal of improvement in the text of it, as is visible on almost every page of the MSS. mentioned above and the lithographed editions. The probability of the work having been subjected to a thorough revision by the author himself is further supported by a copy of MS (Hunt. 230) in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (*EB*), in the concluding lines of which it is

7b. *Cat. of. Per. MSS. in the India Office*, Vols. I-II.

8. Page 83.

9. *Berlin Catalogue*, p. 488 sq.

10. *Cat. of Two Collections of Pers. MSS. in the India Office Library*, London, 1902, No. VIII.

clearly stated that the work was completed in 1022/1613. The date of the original completion of the work has been stated to be 1020/1611-12<sup>11</sup>.

We may sum up and say that the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* was originally finished in 1020/1611-12, but it was in all probability subjected to a thorough revision by the author himself in 1022/1613, and that it is chiefly owing to the revision of the work in 1022/1613 that there exists a vast difference in the readings of the various MSS. and the lithographed editions. Finally we might point out that there is a pressing need for a standard or critical edition of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* which could, in my opinion, aptly form part of the celebrated *Gaekwad Oriental Research Series* in which its complement, the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* has been published under the able editorship of Prof. Sayyid Nawab 'Alī.

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11. *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī* (Gaekwad Oriental Series, Vol. XXXIII), Pt. I, page 12.

# JĪMŪTAVĀHANA, ŚŪLAPĀṆĪ, AND RAGHUNANDANA ON CERTAIN LAWS OF INHERITANCE

By

SURES CHANDRA BANERJI, Dacca.

The Nibandhakāras of Bengal beginning from Asahāya (about 700-750 A.D.) down to Raghunandana (16th. cent. A.D.) have mostly engaged themselves to the elaboration of the religious law. A great majority of their works are ritualistic, and their contribution to the positive law is indeed very insignificant. This is amply borne out by the fact that of the twenty-eight books constituting the monumental work of Raghunandana, the Smṛti-tattva, only one, viz., the Dāya-tattva is devoted to positive law. Bengal never formulated a new system of law. She has the unique distinction that while the rest of India accepted the paramount authority of Viṇṇāśeśvara on matters of law she has been the only province to examine the views of Viṇṇāśeśvara critically and to reject them wherever necessary. This explains why in the Bengal school of law we often meet with rules that are fundamentally different from those propounded by the famous author of the *Mitākṣarā*.

Asahāya, sometimes erroneously identified with Medhātithi by later commentators, was the first Bengali writer on law to make any substantial contribution to positive law in his *Nārada-bhāṣya*.<sup>1</sup> But his identity as a Bengali being a matter of dispute we may leave him out of our consideration for the present.

Jimūtavāhana is the first of the triumvirate of Bengal writers who played a prominent part in the evolution of the Bengal school of law. The other two are Śūlapāṇi and Raghunandana.

It will perhaps not be out of place to give here a brief account of the personal history of these writers.

Only three works of Jimūtavāhana have come down to us, viz., (1) the *Kāla-viveka*,<sup>2</sup> (2) the *Vyavahāra-mātykā*,<sup>3</sup> and (3) the *Dāyabhāga*.<sup>4</sup> It appears that these works were intended to form parts of a huge treatise on dharmaśāstra, called *Dharmaratna*.<sup>5</sup> Of these the *Dāyabhāga* is by far the most famous of Jimūtavāhana's works. On matters of Hindu Law it is of paramount authority in modern British Indian Courts except, of course, in the cases where the *Mitākṣarā* is applicable. Its importance can be gauged from the fact that it has been commented upon by more than a dozen commentators and was translated by COLEBROOKE.

As usual with most of the Sanskrit writers of our country Jimūtavāhana gives us very little information about himself beyond the fact that he was born of the Pāribhadra family, a section of the Rāḍhiya Brāhmanas of Bengal. It can be gathered from external evidences that he was the Chief Judge in the reign of Viṣvakṣena of Bengal and that he was 9th in descent from Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, one of the five Brāhmanas brought by Adisūra.

There is a wide divergence of opinions among scholars as to the date of Jimūtavāhana. His age ranges between the 11th and the 16th century.

1. Ed. Dr. Jolly (Bibliotheca Indica). 2. Bib. Indica Series, 1905.

3. Vide *Memoirs of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol III, No. 5, Pp. 277-353.

4. Published several times.

5. Cp. (a) इति.....धर्मरत्ने कालविवेकः समाप्तः, colophon to the *kāla-viveka*.

(b) इति.....धर्मरत्ने दायभागः समाप्तः, colophon to the *Dāya-bhāga*.

Next comes Śūlapāṇi both chronologically and in order of importance. Besides being the author of more than a dozen original treatises<sup>6</sup> on various topics of dharmaśāstra he is credited with the authorship of a renowned commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-saṃhitā*, viz., the *Dīpakalikā*. Some scholars are of opinion that with the exception of the *Dīpakalikā* the other books of Śūlapāṇi were intended to form parts of a larger treatise named *Smṛti-viveka*. In support of this view there is no more reliable evidence than the fact that all the minor works of the author have the usual ending "viveka."

Of the personal history of Śūlapāṇi we know as little as of his works. In the colophons to his works he is described as a Sāhūḍiyān Mahāmahopādhyāya. Some maintain that the Sāhūḍiyāns had been a degraded section of the Rādhāya Brāhmaṇas of Bengal from the days of Vallāla Sena. This along with Rudradhara's reference to him as a Gauḍīya shows that Śūlapāṇi was a Bengali Brāhmaṇa. A tradition of no great value makes him the Judge of King Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal.

Regarding Śūlapāṇi's date nothing is known definitely. His age is supposed to range between 1150 A.D. and 1450 A.D.

Raghunandana is the last great Bengali writer on dharmaśāstra. He is popularly designated as Smārta Bhaṭṭācārya or simply Smārta and his name is a household word in Bengal. On daily rites and customs of the Hindus his authority is still supreme throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. He is the author of an encyclopaedic work on the different branches of dharmaśāstra, named the *Smṛti-tattva*<sup>7</sup> divided into twenty-eight sections called tattvas. Besides this there is a commentary on the Dāyabhāga attributed to him. There are also a few other tattvas and paddhatis of Raghunandana.<sup>8</sup>

Son of Harihara Bhaṭṭācārya, a Vandyaghaṭīya Brāhmaṇa of Bengal, Raghunandana was a pupil of Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūdamani whose works are often quoted in several of his tattvas. Tradition makes Raghunandana and the great Vaiṣṇavite saint Caitanya pupils of the same teacher, Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma of Navadvīpa.

There is the usual uncertainty about the exact date of Raghunandana. He may, however, be placed between the latter half of the 15th cent. and the earlier half of the 16th.

The entire field of law being too vast to be traversed in the compass of such a brief paper as this we shall confine ourselves to the broad principles of inheritance alone.

Jīmūtavāhana starts with the definition of the term dāyabhāga by Nārada<sup>9</sup> and discusses its precise meaning. He concludes by saying that dāyabhāga is not a splitting of the chattel, nor the separation of it from the co-heir's goods, nor is the distribution of a general right to particular chattels but it consists in manifesting, by the casting of lots or otherwise, a property which had arisen in lands or chattels, but which extended only to a portion of them and which was previously unascertained

6. For Śūlapāṇi and his works see N. I. A., Vol. V, (August, 1942)—"Śūlapāṇi, the Sāhūḍiyān."

7. Ed. J. VIDYASĀGARA, Calcutta, 1895 (in two volumes).

8. (i) *Tīrtha-tattva* or *Tīrtha-yātrā-vidhi-tattva*

(ii) *Tripuṣkara-Sānti-tattva* (Ed. J. B. CHAUDHARY Skt. Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, Calcutta, July 1941).

(iii) *Gayā-Srāddha-paddhātī*.

(iv) *Rāsa-yātrā-paddhātī* (Vide *History of Dharmaśāstra* by KANE, Vol. I, p. 417).

9. Cp. विभागोऽर्धस्य पित्र्यस्य पुत्रैर्यत्र प्रकल्प्यते ।

दायभाग इति श्लोके तद् विवादपदं दुर्ध्वः ॥

being unfit for exclusive appropriation because no evidence of any ground of discrimination existed.<sup>10</sup>

Then Jīmūtavāhana maintains that partition does not create right and that the death of a relation is its cause. Here in a discussion as to whether one acquires proprietary right by one's birth Jīmūtavāhana denies such a right on the authorities of Manu<sup>11</sup> and Devala.<sup>12</sup> The sons have a right of ownership in the properties of their parents when the latter are dead. According to Jīmūtavāhana death of the parents should not be taken literally, but it also includes the state of persons degraded, gone into retirement, and the like.

Then follows a discussion as to whether or not the eldest son is the sole heir to his father. The opinion of Jīmūtavāhana is that the eldest son can, with the consent of the rest, merely assume the management of the entire property.

Jīmūtavāhana admits two periods of partition: one, when the father's property ceases, the other by the choice of the father while his right of property endures.<sup>13</sup>

Śūlapāṇi does not deal with these matters, but begins commenting upon the texts of Yājñavalkya directly. He also seems to have recognised the two periods of partition as indicated above inasmuch as he does not oppose Yājñavalkya who apparently hints at these two periods by the verse विभागं चेत् पिता कुर्यात्, etc.<sup>14</sup>

For definition of the term dāyabhāga Raghunandana uses the same texts of Nārada as quoted by Jīmūtavāhana. But the former differs from the latter in the interpretation of Nārada's text. To the definition Raghunandana objects that "the definition is not accurate. ... But in fact the partition is a distributive adjustment, by lot or otherwise, of the property of relatives vested in them, over the whole wealth, in right of the same relation, upon the extinction of the former owner's property. The vesting and divesting of property over the whole estate are inferred, in like manner as the divesting of partial rights over portions and vesting of a common right over the whole, are deduced in the instance of re-united co-heirs."<sup>15</sup> In the next place Raghunandana refutes the view in favour of birth-right in the same manner as Jīmūtavāhana. Although Raghunandana does not specifically mention the periods of partition he seems to have recognised the two periods mentioned above.

After the introductory portion Jīmūtavāhana begins the subject of partition by a father. A father can partition his property the allotment being according to his choice provided the mother becomes incapable of bearing any more children. The power of the father in the matter is discretionary, but, by no means arbitrary because as Nārada points out,<sup>16</sup> even the father, when afflicted with disease, or influenced by wrath, i.e., when he is not in a normal state of mind, is incapable of making any distribution of his property. The option of unequal distribution on the part of the father relates only to the property acquired by himself but not

10. Cp. एकदेशोपात्रस्यैव...भूहिर्ण्यादावुत्पन्नस्य...गुटिकापातादिना व्यजनं विभागः ।

11. ऊर्ध्वं पितुश्च मातुश्च etc.

12. पितृपुत्रे पुत्रा विभजेयुर्धनं पितुः ।  
अस्वाम्यं हि भवेदेषां निर्दोषे पितरि स्थिते ॥

13. तदेवं पितृस्त्वत्पापमः एकः कालोऽपरश्चानपगत एव पितुः स्वाम्ये पितुरिच्छयेति ।

14. Yājñavalkya II. 114.

15. COLEBROOKE'S Annotations on his translation of the Dāyabhāga.

16. व्याधितः कुपितश्चैव विषयासक्तमानसः ।

..... न विभागे पिता प्रभुः ॥

to ancestral property to which the rights of the father and the son are equal. This equality of rights, however, does not entitle a son to get an equal share with the father from the ancestral property, nor has the son any right to demand partition of the same. The ancestral property, recovered by the father, may be treated as his own acquisition. The same rule applies to moveables though inherited by the father. As regards the inherited immoveable property the father is authorised to dispose of a part or of the whole of it if it be otherwise impossible for him to maintain the family. In a partition during the lifetime of the father he is entitled to a double share of the inherited wealth.

Jimūtavāhana does not authorise the father to grant an unequal allotment to the sons who request partition during his lifetime.

The views of Sūlapāṇi on partition by father, though not elaborate, seem to be identical with those of his predecessor. Sūlapāṇi tells us nothing about the absence of the arbitrary powers of the father, the right of the father to inherited moveable properties or to ancestral properties recovered by him or to the alienation of ancestral immoveable property. Raghunandana who uses almost the same texts as Jimūtavāhana holds similar views about the matter.

The next topic dealt with by Jimūtavāhana is partition by brothers. He is of opinion that even after the father's death the brothers cannot partition the property if their mother be alive. They can, of course, do so with her consent. If even after the demise of the mother the brothers continue to live unseparated the eldest brother, or any younger brother who is more capable, may, with the consent of the rest, be in charge of the maintenance of the family and the management of the property. Any one of them of course, can demand partition at his will. Jimūtavāhana is in favour of the doctrine of representation and says that grandsons will take as much as would have fallen to their deceased fathers and that partition extends to grandsons in the male line.

It is provided by Jimūtavāhana that any one of the brothers, capable of depending upon his own earnings, may decline his share in the ancestral property by taking some trifle out of it this being to obviate any future difficulty on the part of his son or other heir. At the partition of the brothers of the whole blood after their father's death the mother gets an equal share provided no separate property had been given to her. She will get half the prescribed share if she has a separate property. In this connection Jimūtavāhana touches upon an equal share of the sonless wives of the father making an equal allotment among his sons. The sons are entitled to four shares, three, two, or one in the order of their four castes, Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, etc.; so are also the wives.

At the partition of brothers an unmarried sister gets a quarter but if the funds are very small each of the sons must contribute a quarter of his share. The daughter's share is not very clear. According to Kātyāyana, quoted by Jimūtavāhana, the position is this. If the brothers get  $\frac{1}{2}$  the daughter will get  $\frac{1}{4}$ . In this case if there be three sons the daughter gets an equal share with the son, which is absurd. According to the quotation from Manu again if three sons get  $\frac{1}{4}$  each a daughter will get  $\frac{1}{12} + \frac{1}{12} + \frac{1}{12}$  the daughter's share equal to that of a son, which is also not possible.

The only reasonable interpretation seems to be that a daughter will get a share equal to one-fourth the share of one son. In that case, of three sons and one daughter each son will get  $\frac{11}{36}$  and the daughter will get  $\frac{1}{12}$ . The position will be this:—  $\frac{11}{36} + \frac{11}{36} + \frac{11}{36} + \frac{1}{12} = \frac{22}{9} = 1$ .

The views of Sūlapāṇi about partition by brothers are almost the same as those held by Jimūtavāhana. But he is equally vague as his predecessor on the point of a daughter's share. Sūlapāṇi seems to have made the point a bit clear by saying that each son should contribute a fourth part of his share towards the

nuptial expenses of his sister. In this case the equality of a daughter's share with that of a son does not appear to be very much inconsistent. Vṛhaspati, quoted by Śūlapāṇi, says that the maiden daughter "shall take fourth part shares"—which is indeed an ambiguous statement.

In the matter of partition by brothers Raghunandana does not make any departure from the views of his predecessors.

Jīmūtavāhana next deals with strīdhana or woman's separate property. This subject is divided into three parts—definition, succession of a woman's children to her separate property and succession to the separate property of a childless woman.

Out of the bewildering mass of definitions of strīdhana Jīmūtavāhana refers to those of Viṣṇu, Manu, Kātyāyana, Nārada, Yājñavalkya and Vyāsa. According to Viṣṇu the following are considered as strīdhana :—

- A. What has been given to a woman by her
  1. Father
  2. Mother
  3. Son
  4. Brother
- B. What has been received by her
  5. Before the nuptial fire
  6. As solatium (fees on supersession)
  7. From her kindred
  8. As perquisite, and
  9. As a subsequent gift.

Manu and Kātyāyana give the additional item of what has been presented to her in the bridal procession. Nārada, Yājñavalkya, and Vyāsa practically do not add anything new.

The attitude of Jīmūtavāhana towards these definitions is that they are merely illustrative and not exhaustive. Says he :—

तदेवमव्यवस्थं संख्यन्नीधनकीर्तनात् न षट्संख्या विवक्षिता किं तु स्त्रीधनकीर्तनमात्रपराणि  
वचनानि । तदेव च स्त्रीधनं यत्र भर्तुः स्वातन्त्र्येण दानविक्रयभोगान् कर्तुमधिकरोति ।

Over her separate property, technically called strīdhana, a woman has the right of alienation. She is debarred from alienating any immoveables given by her husband.

Regarding the husband's rights to his wife's strīdhana Jīmūtavāhana merely quotes the opinions of Yājñavalkya and Kātyāyana. According to Yājñavalkya a husband is not liable to make good the property of his wife taken by him in a famine or for the performance of a duty or during illness, or while under restraint.<sup>17</sup> Kātyāyana, however, directs restoration of a woman's property with or without interest according as it was taken without or with her consent. A husband even when he takes his wife's property in the circumstances specified above will be compelled to restore it if he lives with another wife.

As regards succession to a woman's separate property broadly the following order is recognised by Jīmūtavāhana :—

- A. Maiden's property
  1. Uterine brother
  2. Mother
  3. Father

17. Cp. दुर्मिक्षे धर्मकार्ये च व्यापौ संप्रतिरोधके etc. Yāj. II, 147.



The order is the same in respect of the property left by a betrothed girl except what was given by the bride-groom who has a right to whatever he gave.

B. Married woman's property

1. Maiden daughter
2. Betrothed daughter
3. Married daughters who have, or are likely to have, male issue (they inherit together)
4. Barren and widowed daughters (inherit together)
5. Son
6. Daughter's son
7. Son's son
8. Great grandson in the male line
9. Son of a contemporary wife
10. Her grand-son
11. Her great grandson in the male line

C. Property of a childless woman married according to one of the five approved forms named Brāhma, etc.

1. Husband
2. Brother
3. Mother
4. Father

D. Property of a childless woman married according to one of the disapproved forms named Āsura, etc.,

1. Mother
2. Father
3. Brother
4. Husband

With regard to the definitions of strīdhana Śūlapāṇi appears to have considered as exhaustive the list of Yājñavalkya together with the *Adhyavāhanika* (received at the bridal procession) which, he thinks is hinted by the word "adi" Yājñavalkya's *आश्विवेदनिष्कायम्* । The various kinds of strīdhana, according to Yājñavalkya, are what are given to a woman by her father, mother, husband, brother ; what has been received by her at the nuptial fire, and as a solatium, from the kindred as bride price and also as a subsequent gift from her husband's family.<sup>18</sup>

Śūlapāṇi recognises the same rights of a husband to his wife's separate property as those admitted by Jimūtavāhana but does not contemplate restoration of the wife's property by the husband. He does not tell us anything about succession to a maiden's strīdhana and regarding that to a married woman's strīdhana holds the same views as Jimūtavāhana. Śūlapāṇi's views are, however, not very clear. Thus, for instance, he says nothing about preferential heirs among the daughters. It may seem that he considered all the daughters to have equal rights. He shares the view of the Mitākṣarā that on failure of the husband the succession to strīdhana devolves on the nearest Sapinda of the husband.

Śūlapāṇi does not consider a woman's right of alienating her strīdhana.

From various passages cited by Raghunandana the following can be gathered as being recognised by him as strīdhana :—

1. Everything except what has been gained by a woman by her skill and what she has received from persons other than family of father, mother, and husband.

2. Whatever ornaments are worn by her during the life-time of her husband.

3. Saudayika, i.e., what has been received by a woman—married or unmarried—while at the house of her father, husband or from her father and husband.

The rights of a woman to the alienation of her strīdhana are the same according to Jīmūtavāhana and Raghunandana.

As regards the husband's right to his wife's strīdhana, however, Raghunandana simply quotes the views of Yājñavalkya and Kātyāyana as mentioned above but does not give any clear opinion of himself.

On succession to a woman's property the views of Raghunandana are substantially the same as those of Jīmūtavāhana.

Briefly stated the following persons are excluded from inheritance according to Jīmūtavāhana :—

1. Outcaste and his issue
2. Impotent person
3. Lame man
4. Mad man
5. Idiot
6. Blind man
7. One afflicted with an incurable disease.

The exclusion is based on inability to offer oblations to the Manes.

The excluded persons, except the outcaste and his issue, have, however, a right to maintenance and their sons, if free from similar defects, are entitled to the shares that would have fallen to their parents had they been qualified.

Śūlapāṇi also lays down the same rules about excluded heirs with the exception that he does not impose any additional restrictions on the outcaste and his sons. He also adds that the daughters of such disqualified heirs are to be maintained till marriage and that their wives, if pure and chaste, have a right to maintenance.

To the list of excluded heirs Raghunandana adds another, the "pitṛdviṭ," i.e., a son who beats his father or does not perform the śrāddha ceremony after the father's death. His view on other details are identical with those of Jīmūtavāhana. He does not tell us anything about the daughters and wives of excluded heirs.

The following are briefly the impartible properties recognised by Jīmūtavāhana :—

1. Whatever is acquired by the co-parcener himself without detriment to his father's estate, as a present from a friend, as a gift at nuptials.
2. Recovered hereditary property that was taken away.
3. What has been gained by science.

Towards the last item Jīmūtavāhana's attitude is that a learned brother need not share them with his unlearned co-heirs but must share them with those who are equal or superior in learning even though the gains may be acquired independently of the joint property.

The essential condition of exemption from partition is acquisition by the owner without using the joint funds.

Both Śūlapāṇi and Raghunandana hold similar views about impartible estates but from the trend of his arguments Śūlapāṇi does not seem to have favoured the idea of dividing the gains of science even among learned co-heirs.

A son born after partition takes, according to Jīmūtavāhana, the entire paternal wealth if the father had lived separately from the brothers. If, however, after partition the brothers were re-united with the father such a son would receive his share from the re-united co-heirs (no definite share is expressly mentioned

by Jimūtavāhana). This applies only to the property acquired by the father. But of the hereditary property the after-born son will take a share from his brothers whether re-united with or separate from the father since the partition of such a property is authorised only when the mother is incapable of bearing more children.

In the matter of succession Śūlapāṇi seems to have recognised only such an after-born son as is born of a wife of equal caste. Śūlapāṇi adds that the after-born son shall receive his share from the property which may be found after allowing for income and expenditure in the property which was received by the other sons at partition. Moreover, the after-born son cannot claim any ornaments etc., given by the mother or father to the sons who have separated before-hand. On other details Śūlapāṇi agrees with Jimūtavāhana.

Raghuṇandana makes a passing reference to after-born sons and his opinions are essentially similar to those of Jimūtavāhana.

Succession to the property of a sonless man is one of the most important chapters in the Laws of Inheritance. It is fortunate for us that even amidst various controversies about the subject all the three Bengal-writers hold similar principles though they may slightly differ in matters of detail. By "sonless" they mean "one who has no descendants down to the son's grandson (cp. अणुपुत्रपदे पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्राभावपरम् - Raghuṇandana).

The order of succession is as follows :—

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Wife  | 25. Son of 23  |
| 2. Maiden daughter   | 26. Son of 24  |
| 3. Betrothed daughter  | 27. Grandson of 23   |
| 4. Married daughters who have or are likely to have male issue | 28. Grandson of 24   |
| 5. Daughter's son  | 29. Great grandfather's daughter's son   |
| 6. Father  | 30. Maternal uncle and the rest who present oblations which the deceased was bound to offer            |
| 7. Mother  | 31. Son of maternal aunt   |
| 8. Whole brother   | 32. Son of 30  |
| 9. Half-brother  | 33. Grandson of 30   |
| 10. Brother's son  | 34. Grandson's grandson  |
| 11. Brother's grandson   | 35-37. Other descendants for three generations in succession   |
| 12. Father's daughter's son                                    | 38. Off-spring of the paternal grandfather's grandfather and other ancestors in the order of proximity |
| 13. Father's own brother                                       | 39. Samanodakas  |
| 14. Father's half-brother                                      | 40. Spiritual preceptor  |
| 15. Son of 13  | 41. Pupil  |
| 16. Son of 14  | 42. Fellow student in theology   |
| 17. Grandson of 13   | 43. A person bearing the family name   |
| 18. Grandson of 14   | 44. One descended from the same Patriarch  |
| 19. Paternal grandfather's daughter's son                      |  |
| 20. Great grandfather's daughter                               |  |
| 21. Paternal grandfather                                       |  |
| 22. Paternal grandmother                                       |  |
| 23. Own brother of 21  |  |
| 24. Half brother of 21   |  |

(43-44 must be inhabitants of the same village).

On failure of all the relatives as here specified the king shall take the escheat excepting however the property of a Brāhmaṇa. But the priests who have read the three Vedas and possess other requisite qualities shall take the wealth of a deceased Brāhmaṇa. So the goods of an onchoret shall devolve on another hermit

considered as his brother, and serving the same holy place. In like manner the goods of an ascetic shall be inherited by his virtuous pupil and the preceptor shall obtain the goods of a professed student. But the wealth of a temporary student is taken by his father or other heir.

If, however, a sonless man dies as a renewed co-parcenary (samsṛṣṭi) with his brothers then the order of succession will be like this :—

1. Associated whole-brother
2. Unassociated whole-brother
3. Associated half-brother
4. Unassociated half-brother

In case there are 2 and 3 living then they will be equal heirs. In the cases of brother's sons and grandsons also the above rule is to be understood.

The views of Śūlapāṇi, however, on succession to a sonless man's property are not very clear because instead of giving any details he merely mentions the order of succession upto the parents. He holds similar opinions about re-united co-parceners.

According to Jīmūtavāhana a concealed property, discovered after partition, is to be distributed equally among co-parceners. The person who withheld the property shall, by gentle means and not violence, be made to restore it and shall not make good the portion consumed by him, nor shall he be deprived of his share. Both Śūlapāṇi and his successor are of similar opinions on this point.

When a partition is contested the following are almost unanimously recognised by the three writers as proofs :—

Evidence of kinsmen, relatives, witnesses and written proof or separate possession of house or field.

## THE BATTLE OF SHRIGONDA, 1761

By

KASIM ALI SAJAN LAL, Secunderabad.

Though the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao acquired a nominal ownership of the territories ceded by Nizam Ali Khan as the result of the battle of Udgir, still he remained the *de jure* owner and not the *de facto* one. The memory of the defeat of the battle of Udgir was rankling in the mind of Nizam Ali Khan. How to maintain a serene attitude and live down the shameful defeat was the problem requiring solution, and he waited for an opportunity. He hated the idea that his name should be lowered in the public estimation. He wanted to retrieve, and, for this reason he was postponing the cession of the promised territories on some pretext or other and although the Sanads were entirely held by the Marathas, he did not allow them to have a peaceful possession of those territories. The result was that Raghunath Rao had to send repeated reminders to him, and, when these failed, he sent his nobles to occupy the territories by force, particularly the Fort of Daulatabad. Raghunath Rao had to undergo many troubles before he got possession of it. The Maratha noble who was sent to take possession of the Fort had to contend against heavy odds, since the Governor of the place resisted and even refused to hand it over. Thereupon Raghunath Rao despatched Gopal Patwardhan to take the Fort by all means, fair or foul. He tried to persuade the Keeper of the Fort to surrender it peacefully but failed. He gathered some bhils to demolish the stronghold, and, when this too proved useless, he tried to bribe the Keeper. Fortunately for him, he fell an easy prey to the gold offered which was a lakh and half, together with Jagirs<sup>1</sup>.

Before the Peshwa set out for the great battle of Panipat, he sent Raghunath Rao with an army of 25,000 soldiers to the bank of the Godavary, ostensibly to request Nizam Ali Khan's help in his Northern expedition. But it was merely a *coup d'état*. As a matter of fact he wanted to keep an eye on the movements of Nizam Ali Khan, for he feared that Nizam Ali Khan had entered into a secret arrangement with Morari Rao Gorepade and Udaji Chavan to annihilate his rising power in the South<sup>2</sup>. As a matter of fact, the Nizam conferred jagirs on Khanda-gale and Baji Ghorpade<sup>3</sup>.

The Peshwa even tried to have Nizam Ali Khan killed or murdered, if not imprisoned, by his soldiers. It seems he wrote a letter to that effect to Raghunath Rao whose reply throws interesting light on the character of the Peshwa<sup>4</sup>. The great importance of Nizam Ali Khan's role is evident on the face of it. It was he and not Salabat Jung that ruled the State. Raghuba acknowledges the superior talents of Nizam Ali Khan. His letter is a positive proof of Nizam Ali Khan's greatness and shows the high opinion the Marathas had about him. It also shows that the Marathas had a hard nut to crack. Nizam Ali Khan acted on the policy of wait and see which was the only obvious thing to do under these circumstances. So he bided his time and waited for the conjunction of circumstances which would facilitate his final decision. He dared not cross swords with the enemy, as the enemy had mustered all his resources for the great battle impending against a

1 KINCAID and PARASNIS, *A History of the Maratha people*, III, p. 41.

2 *Purandare Daftar*, I, pp. 893-894, 402.

3 *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, letter No. 16.

4 *Purandare Daftar*, *Ibid.* opp. cit. pp. 893-894, 402.

worthy opponent. Their fate hung in the balance, for if they won, they would win the whole of India, what to say of the Deccan. But, if they lost, they would lose all they had, for other States had sharpened their claws, ready to pounce upon their helpless and exhausted foe. Among them was Nizam Ali Khan, burning to revenge and watching the turn of events on the plains of Panipat. He would surely take advantage of their defeat and confusion at Panipat. Even Raghoba, who had a sound knowledge of the affairs as they stood, had decided to break off with Nizam Ali Khan on a fit occasion. He rapidly advanced from Indore to Gudmatkal, where he got an additional help of eight thousand soldiers. He next took up his quarters at Bijapur, while Nizam Ali Khan was alert at Ause, ready to declare war, should the Marathas be routed at Panipat.

Unfortunately for the Marathas, the fatal and inevitable hour struck, and the fates turned against them. They lost the battle. Grief and despondency spread over the whole of the Maharashtra. We need not describe what sorrows, troubles and misery had to be borne by the vanquished in a battle of this type, as defeat is always a surprise to them. The Marathas had to mourn for their relatives, sick, wounded, killed or dead. The Peshwa never recovered from the shock, and he expired by the end of June, near the temple of Parbatte<sup>5</sup>.

This event following closely in the wake of the defeat at Panipat, not only spread the shadow and gloom but increased its intensity. The Marathas felt the loss of such a great personality as the Peshwa, who had the good fortune to obtain a high degree of fame and respect among his fellow country men solely due to his clash with Nizam Ali Khan. He was a man of sagacity with polished manners. But he had his defects too. We invite our readers' attention to the letter of the Peshwa addressed to Raghunath referred to above.

It is a pity that the above calamities should have developed party-spirit, ending in a party split, which proved worse than the loss of the battle of Panipat. It severed the bond that kept together the members of the great confederacy and gave rise to petty kingdoms.

Nizam Ali Khan, although a nominal dewan, had usurped the entire powers of the Government and was taking the advantage of the confusion caused by the defeat of Panipat, to despatch a large army under the command of his general Lal Brijdas to devastate the Peshwa's territories. The general captured Alund, Gurjoti and various other districts of the Marathas, levying tribute just as he pleased. Next he swooped down the province of Akkalkote, besieged Boargo, and set it on fire. He imprisoned the deshmukhs of these districts, levied Rs. 40,000 as a tribute. Hearing of these events, Raghoba sent an army of 5,000 soldiers under the command of Appaji Naik to protect Punch Mahals from the Moghul devastations. Appaji Naik sent 2,000 soldiers against Lal Brijdas who attacked him with the result that the latter had to fly to Tuljapur and took shelter at Ause<sup>6</sup>. The deshmukhs of these places proved treacherous to their motherland. To protect their own interest, they conveniently and unscrupulously changed their masters and paid the tribute to the general of Nizam Ali Khan.

Raghoba was to come to Ause but he hastened to Poona on hearing the news of the illness of the Peshwa. He left Nilkant Rao Patwardhan to look after Nizam Ali Khan<sup>7</sup>.

Salabat Jung and Nizam Ali Khan were at Bidar when they heard the news of the death of the Peshwa. The Peshwa was succeeded by his second son Mahadav Rao, then in his seventeenth year<sup>8</sup>. As soon as Nizam Ali Khan heard the news

5 GRANT DUFF, O. C. p. 630.

6 *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, 38, letter 12.

7 KHARE *Atihasik Lekh Sangrah*, 1, pp. 2. 35.

8 GRANT DUFF, O. C. p. 533.

of the death of the Peshwa, he began to make preparations for regaining the territories he had lost at Udgir. He called Ramachander Jadhav one morning and promising to give him some Jagirs, he asked him to recruit an additional force of 10,000 soldiers, besides his own army of 15,000 at Bidar. Ramchander Jadhav requested the Nizam to confiscate 19 districts of the Peshwa and sent his own son to march into Akkalkote with a large army. He captured the fortress of Naldurg and handed it over to the Chawans<sup>9</sup>.

It was at this stage that the young Peshwa began his negotiations with the Bombay Government. At the risk of breaking the thread of the sequence of events, we refrain from mentioning here a detailed account of the negotiations carried on by the Peshwa Mahdavi Rao with the East India Company. On the 28th September 1761, Raghunath Rao wrote to the Bombay Council for help<sup>10</sup>. Later on, Madhav Rao submitted a detailed proposal consisting of 9 clauses<sup>11</sup> which was not favourably received by the Bombay Government<sup>12</sup>. Again Bajee Gungadhar Pant brought a proposal consisting of 10 clauses before the Bombay Government on the 20th December<sup>13</sup>.

These negotiations dragged on through three weary months with some superficial appearance of unreal goodwill on both sides but the sands were running out. These protracted negotiations failed since both the parties were self interested, and came into conflict with each other. The English wanted to have the island of Salsette, but the Marathas 'did not dare to talk about giving it'. It was the last thing that they would do<sup>14</sup>.

Secondly, the English were reluctant to help the Marathas against Nizam Ali Khan, to whom they, not only professed friendship, but actually informed him that they would help him against the Marathas<sup>15</sup>.

Thirdly, there was no unanimity in the decisions of the Bengal and Madras Government, because the former wanted to help the Nizam but the latter was against it.

Lastly the death of Tarabai united the Maratha people and so they had no need of the English help while to the Nizam they professed help but it never came. And the Maratha Sirdars of the Nizam were won over to the side of the Peshwa.

Nizam Ali Khan was making preparations for war and so did the Marathas. They relied solely on the Patwardhans. The Marathas had to contract fresh debts in order to raise a contingent of about 70,000 soldiers including 12,000 sirdars thus swelling their debts to a lakh and half. Though shattered by the battle of Panipat, they gathered their last resources. Their armies were not insignificant to successfully oppose the Nizam<sup>16</sup>.

In the month of October, Nizam Ali Khan rapidly advanced towards Poona, leaving Aurangabad. On his way, he destroyed the three holy places on the banks of the Godavary. He looted Shadashwar and caused a great havoc much to the disgust of the Maratha Officers. So much so that Ramachander Jadhav left his army on the 24th December carrying with him the Nizam's son Mir Moghal Ali who was not on good terms with his father<sup>17</sup>. It was at this time that the Peshwa ordered Ganesh Vittal to recapture Toka, Ellora and other places from the Nizam<sup>18</sup>.

9 KHARE, O. C. pp. 35, 38, 50.

10 Public Department Diary, p. 672

11 Ibid, pp. 720-721.

12 Ibid, p. 714.

13 Political and Secret Diary, 7, pp. 121-123.

14 Political and Secret Department Diary, 8, p. 87.

15 Political and Secret Department Diary, 8, p. 13.

16 Ibid, pp. 11-14, KHARE, O. C. p. 41.

17 Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, 38, L55 pp. 42-43.

18 Ibid, Vol. 38, L. No. 26, pp. 22.

Having crossed the Narbada, Nizam Ali Khan ascended the ghats and marched straight towards Poona. The Marathas were nervous, in spite of their large army of 53,000 since they were torn by internal feuds<sup>19</sup>. Referring to the disputes and troubles the Secret Committee in their despatch of the 14th December notes: "We well know that Nizam Ali Khan with a large army is now near Poona, that the Brahmans cannot raise a force sufficient to oppose them, from the backwardness of their own officers who look upon the situation of Nannah family as desperate and the low state of their finances"; the Marathas sent Gopal Rao Patwardhan to harass Nizam Ali Khan. Gopal Rao Patwardhan followed the guerilla tactics. To his surprise however Nizam Ali Khan changed his plans abruptly and instead of going to Poona directly via Jangaon, he advanced towards Nagur and then towards Shrigonda, leaving Nagur and Poona to his right. Here, he had to face the Bhonsala. There was a skirmish in which both sides lost about 150 horses and 50 men were killed<sup>20</sup>. But according to a different version, Dada Saheb, (Raghunath Rao) who also accompanied the Bhonsala lost 25 horsemen, besides 40 to 50 wounded. About 50 to 100 gardies were killed and the wounded were about 100 to 200<sup>21</sup>. The Nizam lost 52 persons with another 100 to 200 wounded. Thus the skirmishes dragged on (from 15th December to 18th or 20th December 1761), resulting in a battle at the end. The Marathas had seventy to eighty thousand soldiers i.e. 1 1/2 time larger than the Nizam's army<sup>22</sup>.

A terrible battle commenced on Sunday the 15th Jamadi-ul-Awai 1175 A.H. at 3 P.M. and went on late into the night. The forces met at Shrigonda. From the left flank and from the back Raghoba opened fire, while Madhav Rao and the infantry with Bapuji Naik and others were to the right. The Bhonsala and other sardars opened fire from all sides in the direction of the Nizam's forces. Thus attacked on all sides, the forces of the Nizam remained yet unmoved. Thereupon, the Marathas concentrated largely on the rear and attacked the Nizam with full force and fury. But night came like a blessing to the Nizam who retired on the banks of a brook near a village<sup>23</sup>. In spite of the night-fall, the Maratha artillery was booming throughout the night<sup>24</sup>.

It was reported that Nizam Ali Khan lost about 88 to 1000 killed and about the same number wounded<sup>25</sup>. He was nearly surrounded on all sides, with the roaring of cannon and the rain of arrows, he had no room even to raise his head with impunity. It was but natural for him to have lost nearly the said number of soldiers, yet it is remarkable how he could have managed to proceed to Poona under the barrage of firing, leaving his bag and baggage at Shrigonda. His men looted food and forage, and carried away 5 to 7 guns, sparing only the temples and big houses, and burning all else belonging to the enemy. After a stay of 3 or 4 days, he left the place on the 21st December and came down as far as Dumergaon at a distance of 3 coss<sup>26</sup>. The death of Tarabai and the revolt of the Maratha Sardars made matters worse for the Marathas<sup>27</sup>.

Perceiving this move of Nizam Ali Khan, Raghunath Rao appointed Gopal Rao Patwardhan with three others, Holkar, Hari Gopal and Visaji Kisen, in order to protect the City. They were ordered to do their best to check Nizam Ali Khan's

19 Secret & Political Dept. Diary, 7, p. 120 and Bharat Varsha and Swani-Dekken, p. 117, Modak, Mulancha Maharashtra, p. 364. Vide Selections from Peshwa Daftar Vol. 38, L. No. 44.

20 KHARE, O. C. 1, p. 66.

21 PARASNIS, O. C. 1, No. 1 & Selections from the Peshwa Daftar Vol. 38, L. No. 40 describes vividly the havoc created in the Nizam's ranks.

22 KHARE, O. C. 1, pp. 62-64

23 APTE, Chanderchood Daftar, p. 140 & KHARE O. C. p. 64.

24 KHARE, O. C. p. 69.

25 Ibid, Letters No. 45, 48, 49 etc.

26 PARASNIS, O. C. 1, & Khare, 1, p. 33.

27 Secret & Political Dept. Diary Vol. 8, p. 7.



advance to Poona, and failing this, to burn all lands surrounding the city. In spite of all these precautions and premeditated plans, Nizam Ali Khan proceeded as far as Urali about 14 miles from Poona to collect Rs. 6,230 which was raised for him<sup>28</sup>.

It is a pity that the Peshwa and Raghunath Rao were not on good terms. Their quarrels were uninterrupted even by Nizam Ali Khan's approach to Poona where he was opposed by the Marathas<sup>29</sup>. The Marathas, as we have said were divided into factions and one party consisting of Bapuji Naik, Baramatkar, Gopal Rao Patwardhan and Ramachander, advised that as Nizam Ali Khan was near and in a hopeless condition, he should be opposed and that no peace should be negotiated with him, unless he parted with a large portion of his territories in return for peace. But the other party of Raghunath Rao, and Sakaram did not like this idea and they opposed it. Murad Khan, the Commander of the Nizam's Army had a private interview with Raghuba on the 22nd Jamadi-ul-Awal 1175 A.H.<sup>30</sup> Raghuba and others made peace and returned to him territories yielding a revenue of 27 lacs. There is a grave doubt as to the cession of territories on the part of the Marathas (Peshwa), for Naro Shankar clearly mentions in his letter that an agreement was reached without either party paying anything to the other<sup>31</sup>. Besides, Madhav Rao himself says that the treaty was concluded after receiving a jagir worth about 40 lacs belonging to Ramchander Jadhav who had deserted the Nizam<sup>32</sup>. Sardesai also supports this statement<sup>33</sup>. But other historians as Grant Duff and Briggs do not agree with it. On the contrary they affirmed that the Nizam was given back territories yielding an annual revenue of 26 lacs. Many other Persian historians support Grant Duff's opinion<sup>34</sup>.

The part played by Raghuba in concluding the said treaty with Nizam Ali Khan is strongly condemned by the Marathas in general<sup>35</sup>. Some say that he made this treaty with a selfish motive<sup>36</sup>. But it is quite possible that this was his clever plan to check the rising power of Hyder Ali for which the Peshwa by himself was no match.

Taking into consideration the pros and cons of the treaty, it was on the whole shrewd of the Marathas to have made it. The Peshwa, in his letter to the Bombay Government, referring to his previous correspondence with them with regard to the help required against Nizam Ali Khan, and the latter's insistence on the cession of Salsette, quite ironically remarks that Salsette's cession was a question beyond consideration and also informs them of his victory over the Nizam at Shrigonda, 'However by God's favour, the Moghal is returned very distressed, his brother and great officers came to us, and by the intercession of the principal officers of the Sarkar, the peace is settled, the particulars of which I wrote to you in my letter of good news'<sup>37</sup>.

28 Vad O. C. VII, p. 98, and *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. 38, p. 30.

29 KHARE, O. C. 1, p. 73.

30 KHARE, O. C. 1, p. 73 & PARASNIS, O. C. 1, No. 1.

31 Ibid.

32 RAJWADE, *Aitihasik Prastavana*.

33 KINCAID & PARASNIS, O. C. p. 81 (see note)

34 GRANT DUFF, O. C. 1, 36, Vide, Briggs, the Nizam I, p. 64.

35 KHARE, O. C. 1, p. 102.

36 APTE, O. C. p. 7. Mr. Apte in his preface to the *Chanderchood Daftar* hints that there might have been a secret understanding between Raghoba and the Nizam to the effect that the latter should help Raghunath Rao against the Peshwa.

37 Political and Secret Department Diary, 8, p. 87.

## MISCELLANEA

### AUTHORSHIP OF DHVANYALOKA

To those who believe in different authorship of the *Kārikās* and *Vṛtti* in *Dhvanyāloka*, I request to consider the following earnestly. *Dhvani* is first divided into *Avivakṣitavācya* and *Vivakṣitānyaparavācya* and then each one of these is further subdivided. But I beg to point out that this first division of *Dhvani* into *Avivakṣitavācya* and *Vivakṣitānyaparavācya* is given in the *Vṛtti* and not in the *Kārikā*. At p. 57 (*Dhvanyāloka* Nir. Press Ed., 4th ed.) *Vṛtti* runs thus :

अस्ति ध्वनिः । स चासावविक्षितवाच्यो विवक्षितान्यपरवाच्यश्चेति द्विविधः सामान्येन ।

Throughout the first *Uddyota* nowhere is this division given in the *Kārikā-grantha*. It is only given in the *Vṛtti* and yet the first *Kārikā* of the 2nd *Uddyota* proceeds to subdivide *Avivakṣitavācya* thus :

अर्थान्तरे संक्रमितमत्यन्तं वा तिरस्कृतम् ।

अविवक्षितवाच्यस्य ध्वनेर्वाच्यं हि ध्या मतम् ॥

Now if *Kārikās* and *Vṛtti* were composed by two different authors then how is it that *Kārikāgrantha* takes up the thread of sub-dividing the first two divisions which are given only in the *Vṛtti* and nowhere in the *Kārikā*? Surely here *Kārikās* presuppose the *Vṛtti*.

To my mind this is the strongest proof of common authorship of both the *Kārikās* and the *Vṛtti*.

Karachi

D. R. MANKAD.

### IDENTIFICATION OF KALKI

In my paper<sup>1</sup> on 'Kalki—the earliest check to Buddhism', I have shown that Kalki was a contemporary of *Śiśunāga*, *Sumitra* and *Viśākhayūpa*. In this connection I, here, venture a surmise about the identity of Kalki. *Kalki Purana* says that both *Viśākhayūpa* and *Śiśunāga* were old when they conquered *Magadha*. I, therefore, think that *Viśākhayūpa* (who is described as already old at the time of Kalki's birth) must have died soon after allied conquest. Dr. PRADHAN'S synchronistic table<sup>2</sup> will show that *Avantivardhana* also must have died almost at the same time as *Viśākhayūpa* died. Thus soon after the conquest of *Magadha*, two thrones, one at *Māhiṣmatī* and one at *Avantī*, fell vacant. *Puranas* do not speak of any issue of *Viśākhayūpa* or *Avantivardhana* and I suggest that after their death Kalki was elected to the joint throne of *Māhiṣmatī* and *Avantī* and that he ruled at *Avantī*. This is purely a surmise but I connect it with another surmise.

Just as in all our literature Kalki's personality is shrouded in mystery so is the personality of *Sūdraka* of *Mṛcchakatika*, shrouded in mystery. About *Sūdraka* we know only this much that he was a *Brāhmaṇa* by birth and later became the king of *Avantī*.<sup>3</sup> The revolt of *Āryaka* has been taken as historical and *Āryaka* is identified with *Ajaka* whom *Avantivardhana* succeeded on the throne of *Avantī*.<sup>4</sup> And as only persons belonging to the same time and the same place would be interested

1. See *New Indian Antiquary*, p. 4.

2. See his *Chronology of Ancient India*, p. 229.

3. *Mṛcchakatika*, *Prastāvanā*.

in such small and local incidents, I suggest that Śūdraka must have lived soon after the days of Āryaka. That he belonged to Avanti is clear both from *Mṛcchakatika* and *Padmaprābhata*. If, therefore, Śūdraka was a king of Avanti in the days that followed Āryaka, who was he? He was not Avantivardhana, for Avantivardhana was not a Brāhmaṇa by birth, being himself the son of the deposed king Pālaka.<sup>4</sup> I, therefore, suggest that Kalki, who was a Brāhmaṇa by birth and is likely to have come to the throne of Avanti, was the same as Śūdraka. Both were Brāhmaṇa by birth and both are likely to have ruled at Avanti soon after the days of Āryaka. In this connection, the variant Śūraka for Śūdraka found in some Mss of Mr.<sup>5</sup> is significant. Prakrit form Śūlaka, with its long ū, may be rendered in Sanskrit both as Śūraka and Śūdraka. And Śūraka is the fittest title of Kalki, who was one of the greatest heroes of his days.

Karachi.

D. R. MANKAD.

### A NOTE ON COINS OF PURUSHADATTA AND RĀMADATTA.

In an article<sup>1</sup> Miss Bhramar GHOSH has written that the legends found on the coins of Purushadatta and Rāmadatta should be read in a manner different from that in which they were previously read. On the basis of these new readings she has further proposed that these two rulers belong to the Śuṅga dynasty. The object of this short note is to show that the reading which she has proposed regarding the legends on the coins of these two kings is untenable and the reading which she has rejected is the correct one.

The legend on the coins of Purushadatta may be first discussed. This has been read as *Purushadattasa* by CUNNINGHAM,<sup>2</sup> [*Pu*]r<sup>u</sup>shadattasa by SMITH,<sup>3</sup> and *Purushadattasa* by ALLAN.<sup>4</sup> Miss GHOSH has read this legend as '*Purushadatta Sugo*'. The present author has very carefully examined the coins of Purushadatta and has come to the conclusion that the reading proposed by her is not acceptable. Firstly, the stroke which she considers as the medial *u*-sign attached to *sa* is not found in these coins. The stroke which she considers as the medial *u*-sign is really not so but is that whose addition makes on *pa* of the Brāhmī script one *sa* of the same script. Secondly, the thing which she has interpreted as *go* cannot be explained in that manner. ALLAN has interpreted this as a symbol and it appears to the present author that this interpretation of ALLAN is perfectly right. He has opined that this symbol has been found on the coins of Purushadatta, Uttamadatta and Rāmadatta I instead of the Ujjain symbol which is found on the coins of other rulers of this series at Mathurā.<sup>5</sup> Besides their point of argument this sign cannot be interpreted as *go* for the following reasons. This sign looks more or less like a Greek Λ to which one straight stroke is attached on the left line inside. This sign can never be interpreted as *go*. Had it been an example of *go*, then we would not have found the above-mentioned straight stroke but, instead of this stroke, we would have found one straight line running from left to right and meeting the angular place of the sign looking like Greek Λ. If anybody studies the form of

4. See PRADHAN (A), p. 232 ff.

5. See *Mṛcchakatika*, ed. by V. G. PARANJPE.

1. *Prabāshi*, Māgha, pp. 388-91, 1349.

2. *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 89, pl. VIII, 17.

3. *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. I, p. 192, pl. XXII, 10.

4. *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, pp. 176-77, pl. XXIV, 1-4.

5. *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, pp. 176-77, ca. pl. XXIV, 1-4.

Brāhmī *go* as given in the work of the late Dr. BÜHLER,<sup>6</sup> then he will understand the implication of what has been said above. The sign should not, therefore, be read as *go*. If we like to take it for any Brāhmī letter, then we can only read it as *śa*,<sup>7</sup> but it is not logical to read it as *śa* because then the reading conveys no sense. Therefore it appears that it is correct to take it as a symbol as ALLAN has done and not as a letter.

Let us now discuss the coins of Rāmadatta. On the coins of Rāmadatta we find two different types of legends such as *Rāmadatasa*<sup>8</sup> and *Rājño Rāmadatasa*.<sup>9</sup> ALLAN has read this as *Rājño Rāmadatasa* but has written through a mistake *Pājña- [h] Rāmadatasa*<sup>10</sup> when he has transcribed it in the Roman script. This should be *Rājño Rāmadatasa*. The legend which has been found on the coins of Rāmadatta has been read as *Rāmadatasa* by CUNNINGHAM,<sup>11</sup> RAPSON,<sup>12</sup> SMITH<sup>13</sup> and ALLAN. Miss GHOSH has read as '*Rāmadata Sugo*'. Some portions of this letter cannot be read as *Sugo* for the reasons for which the similar portions of the legend on the coins of Purushadatta cannot be interpreted as *su*. She has concluded that the word *sugo* as found in the proposed legend *Rāmadata Sugo* is singular nominative in Prākṛit; but we get in one type of Rāmadatta's coins the legend *Rājño Rāmadatasa*.<sup>1</sup> There cannot be any doubt that here the word *Rājño* is singular genitive in Sanskrit and it refers to *Rāmadatta* and for this reason the reading *Rāmadatasa* in singular genitive in Prākṛit is appropriate. In this age we find the prevalence of the mixed language of Sanskrit and Prākṛit on the legends of many coins and also inscriptions. If judged from the stand-point of language also the reading *Rāmadatasa* appears to be logical.

Alamnagar, Rungpur.  
17-12-43

C. C. DAS GUPTA

### SOME SANSKRIT STANZAS

Sanskrit rhetoricians recognize a figure of speech *Viṣama* or incongruity the second variety of which consists in the failure of one's effort to attain a desired object, attended with dire consequences. An interesting instance is found in several works on rhetoric and in some anthologies :

सिंहिकायुतसन्त्रस्तः शम्भः क्षीतांशुमाश्रितः ।

अग्रसत् साश्रये तत्र तमन्यः सिंहिकायुतः ॥

Mortally afraid of the son of the *siṃhikā* (lioness) the hare clung for shelter to the moon. [As luck would have it] another son of *siṃhikā* (i.e. *Rāhu*) devoured it along with its refugee.

This is the reading in the *Saduklikornāṃṛta* (p. 128). In the *Udbhaṭaśloka-saṃgraha* we find जग्रास, for अग्रसत्, in c. But as the root ग्रस्, is *Ātmanepadin*, जग्रास, is as bad as अग्रसत्. The correct reading is जग्रसे, which is found in Candrakānta Tarkālankāra's *Alaṃkāra Sūtra*.

6 *Indische Palaeographie*, tafel II, 11, XIX, XX, XXII.

7 *Ibid*, tafel II, 37, XVI, XIX, XX.

8 *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, pp. 179-80, pl. XXIV, 5-8, 12, 13.

9 *Ibid*, pp. 182-8, pl. XXIV, 9-11, 13, 14.

10 *Ibid*, pp. 180-81.

11 *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 88-89, pl. VIII, 13-16.

12 *Indian Coins*, p. 13, pl. IV, 1.

13 *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, pp. 180-81, pl. XXIV, 9-11, 13, 14.

A similar use of प्रसू, is found in the following well-known stanza the authorship of which is often attributed to Kālidāsa :

अटिति प्रविश मेहं मा बहिस्तिष्ठ कान्ते  
ग्रहणसमयवेला वर्तते शीतरश्मेः ।  
अयि सुविमलकान्ति वीक्ष्य नूनं स राहु—  
प्रंसति तव मुखेदुं पूर्णचन्द्रं विहाय ॥

Get into the house at once my darling, do not remain outside. This is the time of the eclipse of the moon. Seeing your beautiful face the notorious Rāhu will devour your moon-face giving up the full moon.

It is a great pity that this stanza should be attributed to the greatest poet of classical Sanskrit. Kālidāsa would hardly use the imperative with मा, and he would not most certainly use an expression like ग्रहणसमयवेला, nor the finite verb प्रंसति.

The spots in the moon have aroused the curiosity of man since time immemorial and various explanations have been offered in different countries of the phenomena. The Bengali grandmother tells her grandchildren that it is the Dame Sky playing her spinning wheel in the moon. According to the Teutonic tradition it is the man who cut a fagot of firewood on Sunday, turning a deaf ear to the remonstrances of an angel, who in consequence, cursed him : since you regarded not Sunday on earth, you shall keep a perpetual Moon-day in heaven. According to an ancient Indian tradition the moon was branded with black spots and afflicted with consumption for misconduct according to one account, for his partiality for one of his wives to the neglect of the others according to another. Another ancient tradition relates how when the moon rose from the sea at the time of the great churning some of the slime of the sea struck to it and appeared as spots. Still another legend describes that it is a form nestling in the moon for protection. According to Kālidāsa the spots are nothing but shadow of the earth reflected in the moon—छाया, हि, भूमेः शयिनो, मलत्वे-नारोपिता शुद्धमतः प्रजाभिः ॥ Raghu XIV. 40. All these views are mentioned in the following stanza which is found as an example of Apahnuti in the *Kuvalayānanda* :

अङ्क केऽपि शशङ्किरे जलनिधेः पङ्क परे मेनिरे ।  
सारङ्गं कतिचिच्च सज्जगदिरे भूच्छायमैच्छन् परे ।  
इन्दौ यद्वलितेन्द्रनीलशकलश्यामं दरीदृश्यते ।  
तत् सान्द्रं निधि पीतमन्धतमसं कुक्षिस्थमाचक्ष्महे ॥

Some suspected the stain in the moon to be [spots of] infamy, others thought it to be the slime of the sea, some said it was a deer, other held it was the shadow of the earth. The said spot in the moon resembling a piece of broken Indranila gem that meets our gaze so persistently—we assert it is the deep blinding darkness drunk at night in the interior of the moon.

All the different editions of the *Kuvalayānanda* that we have come across read सज्जगदिरे, in b. गद्.

The Ātmanepada form, therefore, is incorrect. The *Rasārṇavasudhakara* (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series) shows the correct reading to be सज्जगदिरे. Though गृ is as much a Parasmaipadin root as गद् still in the sense of asserting and maintaining गृ preceded by सम्, is Ātmanepadin according to समः प्रतिज्ञाने P. i. 3.55.

## REVIEWS

*The Rjulaḡhvī (Mālatīmādhava-Kathā)* of Pūrṇasarasvatī, Critically edited for the First Time with an Introduction, Indexes and Notes by Prof. N. A. GORE, M.A. with a Foreword by Dr. V. RĀGHAVAN, M.A., PH.D.—Puo. by Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1943 (Poona Oriental Series No. 83) ; Pp. 35+71 ; Size 4½"×7" ; Price Rs. 2.

The great Sanskrit dramatist and poet, Bhavabhūti the author of the immortal production, *Mālatīmādhava* was a conscious artist when he observed :

“ उत्पत्यतेऽस्ति मम कोऽपि समानधर्मा  
काले ह्ययं निरवधि विपुला च पृथ्वी । ”

Verily this observation was not an idle boast but the result of a deep conviction of the poet about the capacity of his work to enkindle a spirit of appreciation for the sentiments portrayed by him in hearts working in unison with the poets' own heart. Pūrṇasarasvatī, though a Sanyāsin of Kerala was a well-known commentator of Kāvyaś and Nāṭakas including the *Mālatīmādhava* itself. From this delightful epitome of his of the *Mālatīmādhava* in 266 well-knit stanzas we can easily assert that this Sanyāsin was a *Samānadharmā* (kindred spirit) of Bhavabhūti though he flourished centuries after him, being assigned by the Editor of this epitome to the period—A.D. 1200-1450.

Prof. GORE'S painstaking work on the present edition is, I believe, a direct testimony to his being a *Samānadharmā* to both the poet and his poet commentator Pūrṇasarasvatī. Love in its widest sense makes life worth-living and worth-loving. It exercises a potent humanizing influence on the roughest mortals in the world owing to its inward appeal. This epitome of Bhavabhūti's love-drama will, therefore, be read with delight by the Sanskrit-knowing public on account of its skilful presentation of the *Mālatīmādhava-Kathā* by this erudite Sanyāsin commentator of Kerala, the author of many other works such as *Vidyullatā*, comm. on the *Megha-dūta*, the *Haṃsasandeśa*, the *Kamalinirūpahanīśa* (a drama in 5 acts), *Anargharā ghavaḷippaṇa*, the *Rasamañjarī* (a comm. on the *Mālatīmādhava*) and *Bhakti-mandākinī* (a comm. on a work of Śaṅkarācārya called the *Viṣṇupādādikēśāntastuti*).

I fully endorse Dr. RĀGHAVAN'S recommendation in his Foreword with regard to this work when he remarks : “ The *Rjulaḡhvī* will surely be profitable to students who study the *Mālatīmādhava* for examinations and as a Khaṇḍa-Kāvya ; it can also be independently prescribed for study in the Intermediate classes of our Colleges.”

I congratulate Prof. GORE, the Editor of the *Poona Orientalist* on his scholarly critical edition of the *Rjulaḡhvī* published by him for the first time on the strength of manuscript-material unknown to AUFRECHT'S *Catalogus Catalogorum*. The readers of the Poona Oriental Series will be grateful to Dr. R. N. SARDESAI, its present publisher, for adding this valuable work to his useful series and thus maintaining the tradition of his enterprising father, the late Dr. N. G. SARDESAI, the founder-publisher of the *Poona Oriental Series* and the *Poona Orientalist*.

P. K. GODE

*A Bibliography of the Rāmāyana*, by Prof. N. A. GORE, M.A., S. P. College Poona City; Published by the author, 12 Vishnu Sadan, 327, Sadashiv, Poona City, 1943; Pages vi + 99; Size :—5" × 7½"; Price :—Re. 1-8-0.

For any research scholar worth the name a bibliography is almost like the Jacob's ladder. Every Scholar of Indology thinks that some other scholar should plant such a ladder on earth for his angelic use but he does not stir up to construct such a ladder even for his own uplift, much less for the benefit of his fellow workers. Owing to the great stimulus given during the last 25 years to the Indological studies by the various Research Institutes in this country and the consequent bewildering variety of published material that now needs proper care and indexing, the need for the compilation of the systematic Bibliographies is felt all the more and the present *Bibliography of the Rāmāyana* by Prof. GORE, himself a promising research worker in the field of Sanskrit literature, will be gratefully received by all his fellow-workers, not to say by all lovers of this immortal Epic, the defender of the Hindu faith and culture beyond the seas.

There was a time when the orthodox scholars looked down upon Indices and Bibliographies not only in India but even in Europe as stated by Dr. M. WINTER-NITZ in his Introduction to the subject Index of the *Sacred Books of the East* Series. These scholars considered an Index to a book as the index of its author's or editor's ignorance. Even now in India valuable books and research journals are being published monthly without indices, though the editors recognize fully the value of these indices. The excuse generally advanced by those authors or editors is want of money. This excuse is at times not a real one as the editor's laziness alone is the culprit in such cases. If any research material requiring an index is worth publishing, surely it is worth indexing, especially when this material is published by learned bodies, who should have greater regard for the methodology of presenting research material to the scholarly public than individual authors or publishers with scanty means. It should really be the business of learned bodies like our Universities to conduct and finance all bibliographical work in different branches of learning by opening a regular office for such purpose.

The present *Bibliography*, published by Prof. GORE at his own expense, deserves encouragement from all lovers of Sanskrit learning, the more so on account of the difficulties he had to face in bringing it out at the present time when the price of paper has risen enormously. It is divided into five sections: (1) *Text Edition*, (2) *Translations*, (3) *Adaptations* etc., (4) *General Criticism*; (a) Books and (b) Papers and (5) *Extracts*. A subject Index is added at the end for ready reference. The Extracts (Appendix II, pp. 63-94) containing translations from the writings of foreign scholars like JACOB and other useful matter pertaining to this popular Epic will be found very entertaining and informative by the general reader and the student of the *Rāmāyana*. We feel confident that the present *Bibliography*, an earnest of Prof. GORE's scholarly labour of love, will before long undergo a second edition, in which he promises to add more useful information especially from foreign sources, which are now not easily accessible to him owing to war conditions.

## THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE PARAŚURĀMA TRADITION\*

By

K. M. MUNSHI, Bombay.

It gives me great pleasure to be able to pay my tributes to my friend, the late Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR on this occasion, by being able to submit a paper on a subject over which we held several discussions. I knew him for many years ; but we came in close contact with each other when in 1927, as a member of the Syndicate of the Bombay University, I came to the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute to acquaint myself with the work that was done by Dr. SUKTHANKAR in connection with the *Mahābhārata*. With the usual distrust with which our University favours new academic ventures, the Syndicate then had its doubts about the wisdom of giving grants for this venture. On meeting Dr. SUKTHANKAR, we fell to discussing the *Mahābhārata*. I saw in him, burning bright, the flames of religious devotion towards this work, which has been the quintessence, vehicle and the instrument of Aryan Culture for well nigh two thousand years. In 1938 he helped me with his guidance when the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan was founded and he continued to give me all possible assistance whenever I wanted it.

I selected the subject of 'Paraśurāma' for this occasion because, that was the subject which we discussed on the last occasion we met, a few months before he died. Once when we were travelling together from Poona to Bombay, I told him of some conclusions I had reached in studies which I had written on 'Early Aryans in Gujarāta' and which ultimately came to be published in book form as my Thakkar Vassanji Madhavji Lectures delivered in the University of Bombay.<sup>1</sup> I had come to the tentative conclusion that the romance of the Pāṇḍavas as given in the *Mahābhārata* in its present form, was more likely to be historically unreliable, while the Bhṛgu episodes had been borrowed from traditions which, then, were recent. Dr. SUKTHANKAR, then, gave me a copy of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* for October, 1936, which contained his 'Epic Studies VI—The Bhṛgu and the Bhārata'.<sup>2</sup> After an exhaustive survey of all references, he had come to the conclusion that the *Mahābhārata* was a Bhṛgu epic and that the background of Bhṛgu exploits and traditions had been introduced into the history

\* Text of an address delivered on the occasion of the first anniversary of the demise of Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, January 21, 1944.

1. K. M. MUNSHI, *The Early Aryans in Gujarāta*, published by the University of Bombay, 1941.

2. Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XVII, 1-76.



of the Pāṇḍavas. He had also come to the conclusion that the story of the Pāṇḍavas was historic and the Bhārgava episodes were the result of associations connected with the authors. • Thereafter we met twice to discuss this matter further. It gave me great satisfaction that so eminent and learned a scholar had clearly established what I was feeling very vaguely, that the central story and the Bhārgava background of the epic were distinct things, which, if properly analysed, might yield valuable results.

# I

In the traditional history of India I attach considerable importance to the well-known Paraśurāma Episode. It supplies a very important link which so far, has been dealt with by PARGITER, in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, by Dr. SUKTHANKAR in his 'Epic Studies : VI' and by Dr. Irawati KARVE, in the *Paraśurāma Myth*.<sup>3</sup> In my *Early Aryans in Gujārāta*, and recently in the *Glory That Was Gūjāradeśa* Part I,<sup>4</sup> I have tried to deal with it at length. I do not propose to cite the references given in these studies, but I will only content myself with placing before you a few considerations which arise out of the materials and references already available in these studies.

The so-called scientific historian of India looks down upon traditional history. But to ignore the historical basis of the epic, ritualistic and puranic literature of India, is most unscientific. Inscriptions are sometimes fabricated ; in all cases one-sided. A court chronicler invariably presents an untrue picture of his patron and his times : it represents propaganda. But in ages when the art of tendentious propaganda as cultivated by the moderns was unknown, historic traditions were scrupulously preserved and handed down. They have a greater element of historical truth. The sweeping generalisation, therefore, which excludes traditional history from the sphere of History proper is scientifically baseless.

A historical tradition has four stages of growth :

- A. There is the memory of a man associated with an achievement.
- B. The achievement becomes the centre and inspiration of a movement with which many men are associated, and the association of the man with the movement becomes necessary as a connecting link, a source of inspiration or a symbol of a great achievement or institution. More sweeping the movement, the greater becomes the man, the tradition and his exploits.
- C. When the movement continues for generations the tradition assumes a historical aspect.
- D. When the movement spreads out through generations--
  - (i) the tradition is associated with different places.
  - (ii) the tradition is enriched by imaginary details of the exploits.

3. Dr. IRAWATI KARVE, *The Paraśurāma Myth*, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, I, 115 ff.

4. *Glory That Was Gūjāradeśa*, edited by K. M. MUNSHI, I, 143 ff.

In such a growth, the facts are—

- (i) the man and the activity ;
- (ii) the development of the activity of the movement and its need for a rallying centre for collective tradition ;
- (iii) the passing of the movement from generation to generation ;
- (iv) the nature of the movement ;
- (v) the extent of the movement as indicated by the places where it is located.

If, however, the man and the activity round which the tradition has grown, can by other means be identified, it must be deemed to be a historic fact.

A Rāma rises. He conquers the Haihayas. Round it, a movement grows. Ṛṣis and their adherents overcome Haihayas and other hostile people. The name of Rāma becomes a beacon, a cry of victory, a message of inspiration. Crowds, armies, generations who participate in the movement, remember the man and his deed. Wherever the movement marches, the man and his deed are remembered. These two—the man and his deeds—grow as the movement grows. They attain new significance. Imagination supplies appropriate particulars. Where movement reaches, rivers, cities, shores, come to be associated with them.

Parāśurāma thus had an axe, a mother whom he killed, an enemy whom he destroyed, a lake which he filled with the blood of foes. Those who came together felt the solace and the strength of his memory and worshipped it, handed it down to proud sons. The proud sons wove it into poems, songs, epics. Devout men named a peak of the Himālaya, a mountain in the South, a hill near Kalyan, after him. Centuries of men gave him a local habitation wherever his inspiration was wanted or received. Thus grew the Parāśurāma legend.

The modern historian has to unweave the web of this tradition. His effort must be directed to discovering facts of history out of this mass of legends by removing the mythological elements.

In order to remove the legendary elements out of historical tradition four safeguards should be kept in mind—

First, legends easily grow round certain spots ; they should generally be discarded.

Secondly, in individual exploits, motives are generally added to embellish historical tradition. They may, therefore, be looked upon with distrust.

Thirdly, associations and synchronisms of names contain a germ of truth and must not be rejected unless there are inherent or extraneous improbabilities.

And lastly, synchronisms and associations of names and the general trend of exploits may, if properly analysed, disclose an underlying movement in the interest of which the legends came to be woven.

Applying these canons I had analysed the traditional history surrounding the Paraśurāma episodes in the *Early Aryans in Gujarāta*. And the analysis is helped by certain references which make it certain that Paraśurāma, the individual, round which the legends have grown, was a real one.

## II

Rāma was not an eponymous hero like Bhṛgu or Yadu. He was an individual, the son of Jamadagni, the vanquisher of Arjuna Kārtavīrya and the destroyer of Māhiṣamti.<sup>5</sup> The Puranic and the *Mahābhārata* tradition is clear about his being only a hero. His apotheosis is a later event.

*Sarvānukramāṇi* ascribes *Rgveda* X. 110 to Rāma Jāmadagnya or Jamadagni. *Rgveda* X. 93. 14 refers to one Rāma, which may be taken to be Rāma Jāmadagnya and not Rāma Ikṣvāku as has been considered by some scholars. The *Atharvaveda* refers to the enmity between Bhṛgus and Vīta-havyas and the Cow episode.<sup>6</sup> In the *Mahābhārata*, Paraśurāma is depicted as a recent hero, not an Avatāra of Viṣṇu.<sup>7</sup> He is referred to as an incarnation only twice, in the Nārāyaṇīya Section of the Mokṣadharmā, which is a notoriously late addition to the *Mahābhārata*. The stanza in XII. 339, 103 f, is an interpolation in the *Mahābhārata*. It is missing in some Grantha MSS. and old Devanāgarī MSS.<sup>8</sup> The reference to Rāma in *Bhagavadgītā*, Canto X, 31 is clearly to Paraśurāma, not Rāma Ikṣvāku; that was the view also of Dr. SUKTHANKAR.<sup>9</sup> It was this verse which produced the later tradition that Paraśurāma was the Avatāra of Viṣṇu. The *Rāmāyaṇa* also considers him as a symbol of Brahmanical superiority rather than an Avatāra of Viṣṇu.<sup>10</sup> That Paraśurāma's father Jamadagni was a co-composer of a hymn in *Rgveda* with Viśvāmitra,<sup>11</sup> corroborates the fact that both father and son were historical persons.

Dr. Irawati KARVE in "Paraśurāma Myth" has exhaustively dealt with the associations which have sprung up around Jamadagni in Konkan and the South. In the *Early Aryans in Gujarāta*, I have collected the associations of the Bhṛgus and particularly Paraśurāma, around the sea-board tract from Cambay to Bombay. From the earliest days of the traditional history, therefore, the whole of the sea-board from Cambay to the Ratnagiri, known in the early literary records as Aparānta, had close associations with the conquest of Paraśurāma. Arjuna Kārtavīrya, whom Paraśurāma destroyed, led a confederacy of the Haihaya Tālajaṅgha tract which spread over modern Rajputana, Gujarat and Mālwa.<sup>12</sup> Māhiṣmatī, the capital of Sahasrārjuna, which Paraśurāma destroyed, on the banks of the Narmadā, is likely to be at the place where Broach is situate today.<sup>13</sup> Local legends in these parts therefore

5. K. M. MUNSHI, *The Early Aryans in Gujarāta*, 46.

6. *Ibid.*, 59 f.

7. *Mbh.* VII, 70, 4-14.

8. Cf. SUKTHANKAR, *op. cit.*, 48.

9. *Op. cit.*, 39.

10. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bālu Kāṇḍa, XVII ff. and Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, XXI, 33, 34

11. *RV.* X, 167.4.

12. MUNSHI, *op. cit.*, 30.

13. *Ibid.*

may be taken to have been based on some far-reaching movement of people who looked back to Paraśurāma as their leader or ancestor.

As exhaustively dealt with by Dr. Irawati KARVE, according to the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, Paraśurāma after saving Gokarna from the flood divided the land upto Cape Comorin into Kerala, Tulu and Havig.<sup>14</sup> All the west coast Brahmins down to Malabar, according to popular belief have Paraśurāma as their ancestor and guardian deity. Renukā his mother assumes a more colourful history as you travel down South.

The earliest version of *Vāyu* and *Matsya Purāṇa* had a tradition of Paraśurāma's conquest of Sahasrārjuna, and it may be taken as a historic fact, that before the first *Purāṇa* was read in the Court of Adhisimakṣṇa in 800 B.C. a vivid tradition of Paraśurāma's conquest of the Narmadā region subsisted; and that conquest was the tradition of a large movement of men emerging from Madhyadeśa, which Aryanised the west coast a few centuries before Buddha.

### III

The next consideration is that of chronology. Events of traditional history, if properly analysed, can be chronologically arranged. A study of such history also cannot yield satisfactory results unless the landmarks of such chronology are settled.

Dāśarājña or the Battle of the Ten Kings referred to in the *Rgveda* is the first landmark of chronology so far as traditional history is concerned.<sup>15</sup> The last landmark, of course, is Gautama Buddha's birth in respect of which there is general agreement. To divide this span of time, is a very difficult task, and every student is apt to become a victim of his own bias. But some landmarks are easily discernible.

For the sake of clarity therefore the Vedic Aryans may be defined to be the Aryans who lived in the Saptasindhu (the modern Punjab and a part of the North-West Frontier Province) during the period which immediately preceded and followed Dāśarājña, the Battle of Ten Kings, in which Sudās, the son of Divodāsa was the victor. It is the first authentic event, as proved by the *Rgveda* evidence, for Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra have sung about it with unmistakably firsthand passion. Their language as preserved in the *Rgveda* may be termed Vedic Sanskrit. The Vedic period, consequently may be deemed to be the life-time of the participants in the Dāśarājña and of their immediate predecessors and successors who could be identified with certainty.<sup>16</sup>

The other landmark is the reign of Janamejaya Pāriksita, which seems to have closed a little before the composition of the *Aitareya* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas*. Between the close of the Vedic period and the close of Janamejaya Pāriksita's reign, various revolutionary changes, geographical, cultural and literary had overtaken North India. There was a break in the literary and

14. DR. IRAWATI KARVE, *op. cit.*, 133.

15. MUNSHI, *op. cit.*, 9.

16. *Ibid.*, 13.

religious tradition. The centre of learning had shifted to the banks of Yamunā. Iśāna had become the first God of the pantheon. Old genealogies had been broken up. The Tṛtsus and the Śrñjayas had been merged into the Bharatas to form the Kuru-Pañcāla people. The social structure had been changed. The Kuru kingdom had been founded and the sacred Sarasvatī ceased to flow.<sup>17</sup>

The two termini of Dāśarājña and Janamejaya Pārikṣita's reign being fixed, the gap between them has to be measured. Scholars can base their theories on chronology as they like as to the period of time which the gap represents.

Between these two landmarks legends have sprung up around two great martial conflicts. The first was the Bhṛgu-Haiḥaya conflict of which Paraśurāma was the central figure, and the second the Kuru-Pañcāla conflict of which the Pāṇḍavas were the central figures. Between these two termini of time, two great movements are found to have taken place, each of them extending over centuries.

As a result, First, the culture of the Aryans of Saptasindhu had over-spread North India upto the Godāvarī; Secondly, an all-India consciousness had been born as a result of which the kings of the whole of India North of Godāvarī congregated at Kurukṣetra to participate in the Kuru-Pañcāla conflict.

Certain synchronisms and incidents in these movements may be noted.

(1) Paraśurāma's father Jamadagni is associated with Viśvāmitra the principal participant of the Dāśarājña as the co-composer of a hymn. He is therefore associated with the latest stage of the Vedic period.

(2) He is also associated with Bhīṣma, Droṇa and Karṇa who are all elder heroes in the Bhārata War and is associated with the early periods of the period with which the Bhārata war deals.<sup>18</sup>

(3) Sudās was the king of Tṛtsus and Śrñjayas (the same as Vitahavya or Haiḥaya) who with the aid of Vasiṣṭha led the battle against the Ten Kings led by Purukutsa.<sup>19</sup>

(3) Sudās founded the Pañcāla line of the Puranic tradition.<sup>20</sup>

(4) Sudās, according to the *Mahābhārata* tradition, defeated Saṁvraṇa of Hastināpura and a confederacy of Purus, Yadus, Śivas, Druhyus, Matsyas, Turvasas and other states was stirred up to resist the Pañcālas. In the Bhārata War the kings of Kāśī, Cedi, the Vṛṣṇis, Pāṇḍavas of the Pañcālas, Śrñjayas and Somaka and others, who were descendants of the allies of Sudās in the Battle of the Ten Kings, sided with the Pāṇḍavas. Kauravas included the kings of Gāndhāra and Śibi who were descendants of Bhoja, Kosala, Madra, Kāmboja, Kekaya, Avanti or were connected with the enemies of Sudās in the Vedic Dāśarājña. The combatants therefore in the Battle of the Ten

17. *Ibid.*, 71-74.

18. *Mbh.*, XII, 27.10; 46.18-21 and I, 138.1-77; 166.16-28.

19. MUNSHI, *op. cit.*, 64,

20. *Ibid.*, n 65,

Kings and in the Bhārata War were arrayed identically. The location of contending parties in both the wars appears to be practically the same.<sup>21</sup>

(5) Another important link between the Battle of the Ten kings and the Bhārata war is supplied by a prince by the name of Kuruśravaṇa, a descendant of Trasadasyu in the line of Puru who was the opponent of Sudās in the Battle of Ten kings. This prince also appears at the end of the Vedic period. My suspicion that the name of Kuruśravaṇa as given in the Epic, is Kuru, the son of Saṁvarāṇa, the founder of the Kaurava family, has been confirmed by Dr. PUSALKER in the study of that name.<sup>22</sup> In this connection, one reference in the *Mahābhārata* is very helpful. In the *Mahābhārata*, Śāntiparva, 49, it is stated that Brhadratha was ruling in Magadha, Sarvakarmā in Ayodhyā, Sārvabhauma in Hastināpura, Citraratha in Aṅga and Vatsa in Kāśi. Saṁvarāṇa revived the fortunes of the Kurus in Madhyadeśa. His son Kuru extended the kingdom. His grandson founded the kingdom of Cedi.<sup>23</sup> In this connection the legends that Paraśurāma made a gift of the kingdom of the world to Kāśyapa must be considered. He was the purohita of the Yadu family and appears to be connected with the Kurus.<sup>24</sup> At the collapse of the power of Paraśurāma, therefore, Kuru, the son of Saṁvarāṇa established his power at Hastināpura.

If Kuru and Saṁvarāṇa represent the name of Kuruśravaṇa of Vedic period, it forges a complete link between the Battle of the Ten kings and the foundation of the power of the Kurus on the banks of the Yamunā. Clearly, therefore, between the Battle of the Ten Kings and the Bhārata War, there is an additional landmark viz. the collapse of the power of Paraśurāma and the rise of the Kuru Power in Madhyadeśa.

The chronological landmarks may thus be arranged.

- I. The Battle of the Ten Kings.
- II. The Close of the Vedic Period. Conquest of Māhiṣmati by Paraśurāma.
- III. The death of Paraśurāma and the rise of Kuru power in Madhyadeśa.
- IV. The Bhārata War.
- V. The Reign of Janamejaya Pārikṣita.
- VI. The composition of the *Brāhmaṇas*.
- VII. The reign of Adhiṣṭakṛṣṇa when the *Purāṇas* were recited.
- VIII. The Birth of Gautama Buddha.

Paraśurāma was near the I landmark and lived upto the III ; so did Kuruśravaṇa, if he is the same as Kuru Saṁvarāṇa. Bhīṣma, Droṇa and Karṇa could be the junior contemporaries of Paraśurāma only if they were born a little before III landmark. Landmark III to IV, that is the period from the

21. *Ibid.*, 86, n. 50.

22. Dr. A. D. PUSALKER, Kuruśravaṇa and Kuru Saṁvarāṇa, *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, II, 72-76.

23. *Vāyu*, 99.217-28 ; *Matsya*, 50.23-34.

24. *Mbh.*, I, 133.44 (K).

death of Paraśurāma to the death of Bhīṣma, cannot be separated by a period of time of about 60 years.

Landmark IV to V covers only two lifetimes, those of Parīkṣita and Janamejaya a period from 60 to 80 years. Between I and V therefore only three hundred years must have elapsed.

An analysis of the pedigrees would show that they have been lengthened out, in fact, opened out, like telescope, to provide for a traditionally accepted length of time. In fact the Battle of the Ten Kings and the Bhārata War cannot be separated by more than six or eight generations—between 150 to 200 years.

#### IV

The legends of Paraśurāma therefore represent the first phase of the Aryan advance upto the Narmadā on the one hand and the boundaries of Magadha on the other. In this phase that the conquests were dominated by the Bhṛgu is clearly indicated. Bhṛgu secured the kingdom of Śālva ;<sup>25</sup> Sagara of Ayodhyā was installed by Aurva Bhārgava ;<sup>26</sup> Śunahṣepa the adopted son of Vjśvāmītra, king of Kānyakubja, was a Bhārgava ;<sup>27</sup> Bhṛgu also dominated in Kāśī and Pañcāla.<sup>28</sup> This was just before the period of the Bhārata War.

The changes between the close of Vedic period and the rise of the well-settled Aryan kingdoms in Hastināpura under the Kurus therefore are represented by an expansive movement both martial and cultural from the Sarasvatī to the Godāvarī in the south and to the boundaries of Magadha in the east. The Bhṛgu who were responsible for providing a background to the epic were the most dominant element of the Aryan people in this movement and the name and the exploits of Paraśurāma are its symbols preserved by traditional history.

When we come to the Bhārata War, India north of Godāvarī and upto the borders of Magadha, is found to have evolved a common bond of tradition and culture, evidently the result of the expansive movement connected with Paraśurāma. When the kings joined in the fratricidal war of Kurus, who were attempting all-India suzerainty, the Bhāratavarṣa consciousness was born.

25. *Mbh.*, XII, 234.33 ; XIII, 137.233.

26. MUNSHI, *op. cit.*, 52.

27. *Hari*, I, 27.54.

28. *Hari*, I, 28.82-83 ; 32.28, 39-40, 76 ; *Matsya*, 50.14.

## NOTES OF THE MONTH

**The Publication of the Volume of the Sukthankar Memorial Edition and the Sukthankar Memorial Volume of the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute on 21st January 1944 (the first anniversary of Dr. Sukthankar's demise.)**

We have had occasion to publish last year in the issues of the *New Indian Antiquary* an account of the Silver Jubilee of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute followed by an obituary of Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR and later the announcement of a scheme to bring out a complete Memorial Edition of his published printings in two Volumes. Verily 'man is a pendulum between a smile and a tear' and Indologists are not an exception to this observation of the poet. In fact Indian scholars, no less than their confreres in the other parts of the world, are fully alive to their responsibilities not only in doing honour to eminent scholars who are living but also to those who were snatched away by the cruel hand of death before they could complete their life's tasks. Dr. SUKTHANKAR belongs to the latter category of scholars and it was but in the fitness of things that Indian Scholars should organize the work of bringing out a *Memorial Edition* of his Published writings almost within a week of his much lamented demise. It is also a matter for congratulation to all concerned that the Memorial Edition Committee with Mr. P. K. GODE as its Hon. Secretary and Managing Editor should bring out punctually the *First Volume* of the Edition (*Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata*) on 21st January 1944, the First Anniversary of the demise of the great scholar. The Memorial Edition Committee observed the First Anniversary of Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR'S demise at the Tata Hall of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute on Friday, the 21st January 1944 at 6-30 p.m. The Committee was fortunate in getting two eminent friends of Dr. SUKTHANKAR, viz. The Right Hon'ble Dr. M. R. JAYAKAR and Shri K. M. MUNSHI to grace the occasion prominently by their participation in the Anniversary function as President and Lecturer respectively. The Hall was packed up with the elite of the town and some outside guests from Bombay to its utmost limit. Students from the neighbouring Colleges and other members of the public who could find no accommodation in the heavily crowded Hall thronged at the windows and doors of the Hall. Shrimant Bhawanrao Pant Pratinidhi, B.A. the RAJASAHIB OF AUNDH, the Chairman of the Committee is proposing Dr. Jayakar to the chair referred to the international reputation made by Dr. SUKTHANKAR by his scholarly work on the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata. Dr. JAYAKAR commenced the proceedings of the day by garlanding the bust of Sir R. G. BHANDARKAR and the portrait of Dr. SUKTHANKAR. He then requested Mr. P. K. GODE, the Secretary of the Committee to read a statement regarding the progress of the work of the Committee in detail (vide Appendix A). The President then announced the publication of the *First Volume of the Sukthankar Memorial Edition* and requested Dr. V. M. APTE of the Deccan College Research Institute to read a statement regarding the work done by him and his colleagues Dr. S. M. KATRE, the Director of the Institute and Dr. H. D. SANKALIA in bringing out the *Sukthankar Memorial Volume of the Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute* containing papers pertaining to the *Mahābhārata*, (vide appendix B.) The President then announced the publication of this Memorial Volume and requested Shri K. M. MUNSHI, B.A., LL.B. to deliver his address on the "*Historical Value of the Paraśurāma Legend.*"

Shri MUNSHI told the audience that his first contact with Dr. SUKTHANKAR was about 1926, when Dr. Sukthankar had commenced his monumental editing of the



*Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata.* This contact deepened into friendship in course of time owing to identity of interests till finally he availed himself of Dr. SUKTHANKAR's help and advice in connection with the work of the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, six years ago. He was therefore very glad to accept the invitation of the Honorary Secretary of the Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee to do honour to the memory of an eminent friend, who spent the best part of his life in studying and editing the *Mahābhārata*. This Great Epic is not only the richest cultural and intellectual heritage of our people but is also the one book, which has been responsible for uniting them and developing in them a unity of out-look on life, learning and culture. The *Bhagavadgītā* though small in extent is the crowning glory of the Great Epic as it is an epitome of our philosophy, religion and culture. Our great leaders like Lokamānya TILAK, Mahātmā GANDHI and others have revered it as a book of authority. The speaker therefore, exhorted the audience to read the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhagavadgītā*, as they provided rules of life of perennial value. After these introductory remarks Shri MUNSHI delivered his address which is printed in extenso in the present issue of the *New Indian Antiquary*. The address was listened to with rapt attention by the audience in complete silence, except for the momentary sound created by the breaking of a glass pane of the door on the back of the speaker consequent upon the rush of overflow audience.

After the completion of Shri MUNSHI's address received by the audience with vociferous cheers the President Dr. M. R. JAYAKAR rose to address the meeting. The effect of Shri Munshi's address on the mixed audience of ladies and gentlemen in the Hall not to say the large number of students standing in the gangways, had hardly subsided when the President by his easy and eloquent address took it to perfection. He told the audience that in accepting the Secretary's invitation to preside at the function intended to perform the literary *Śrāddha* ceremony of a great savant on the First Anniversary of his much lamented demise there was greater reason than his own competence as he was not a *Śrotiya* well versed in the *Sāstras* who alone is competent to perform such a *Śrāddha*. This reason was nothing else but their cordial relations right from the days of their education in England upto the time of his sudden but glorious demise last year. Dr. SUKTHANKAR was his contemporary in London as early as 1903 and he gave promise of his future scholarly career by his great love of German language and German scholars. In fact he used then to visit Germany very often during vacations. Dr. JAYAKAR remained in contact with Dr. SUKTHANKAR after his return home and when the latter assumed charge of his great work on the *Mahābhārata* he requested the speaker to enlist the sympathy and support of the Government of India for his *Mahābhārata* work. The speaker was then a member of the Legislative Assembly and through the good offices of Sir Girijashankar BAJPAI succeeded in getting some financial help for Dr. SUKTHANKAR's work on the *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata*. Dr. SUKTHANKAR was not a dry-as-dust Indologist and when he met his old friends he could throw aside his coat of an Indologist in a minute, and be human like his friends in all the walks of life. The President had noticed, however, one great change in his out-look as a result of his constant study of the *Mahābhārata*. Dr. SUKTHANKAR had come to regard this Great Epic as his best personal friend and treated it as the greatest gift of the Almighty to India. He used to say that any person in distress and difficulties should read the *Mahābhārata* and he was sure to find a way out of these difficulties. In conclusion the President exhorted the Memorial Edition Committee to bring out the second volume of the Memorial Edition without a hiatus because in India a hiatus has always proved fruitless like some acts of the Indian legislature, which not being immediately acted upon have defeated the very objects for which they were designed and passed. As a token of his goodwill and appreciation of the work of the Memorial Edition Committee he announced amidst cheers a further

donation of Rs. 200 for the second volume of the Edition in addition to Rs. 100 contributed by him for the first volume.

It was almost 9 p.m. when Dr. JAYAKAR concluded his brief but eloquent remarks and Dewan Bahadur K. M. JHAVERI, the Vice-Chairman of the Committee conveyed the cordial thanks of the Committee to the eminent President and Lecturer of the evening, the audience, the authorities of the Bhandarkar Institute, the authorities of the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute and lastly to the Honorary Secretary and the Managing Editor of the Sukthankar Memorial Edition for their whole-hearted co-operation in making the function a success. After the garlanding of the Lecturer and the President the function came to a happy termination.

We understand that the Memorial Edition Committee has commenced its work on the second volume of the Sukthankar Memorial Edition. The funds collected by the committee have been utilized in bringing out the First Volume, so elegantly printed by the Karnatak Printing Press, Chitra Bazar, Bombay 2. About Rs. 4000 more will be required for the Second Volume of the Edition. The committee hopes that friends and admirers of Dr. SUKTHANKAR all over the world will contribute their mite towards the completion of the Edition before long and thus share the credit of having done honour to the memory of the great Savant, who sacrificed himself on the altar of the *Mahābhārata*.

## APPENDIX A

Statement read by Mr. P. K. Gode, the Honorary Secretary of the Dr. V. S. Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee on 21-1-1944.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On this sacred day of the first anniversary of the death of my most esteemed friend and colleague the late lamented Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, the world-renowned General Editor of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*, we have gathered here to do honour to his memory by the publication of the First Volume of the Memorial Edition of his published writings. The Memorial Edition Committee has considered the republication of Dr. Sukthankar's writings in this form as the best way of commemorating the services of the departed savant to the cause of Indology in general and to our national Epic, the *Mahābhārata* in particular. Though the rise of Dr. Sukthankar to scholarly eminence was in no way meteoric, his sudden disappearance from the firmament of Indology was in every sense meteoric and the darkness of the void created by this disappearance will continue to hover round us for years to come till the successful completion of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* on the lines laid down by Dr. Sukthankar and approved by the world of scholars. I feel confident that with the tremendous goodwill and international reputation created by Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S unremitting scholarly labours on this epoch-making work of the Great Epic for no less than 17 years, his successors in this great undertaking will leave no stone unturned to complete this national task thus proving the capacity of Indian scholars and their worthy patrons to organize and execute successfully huge literary projects on strictly scientific lines. The completed Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* will go down to posterity as a visible embodiment not only of the "glory that *was* Ind" but also of the "glory that *is* Ind." Though this Great Epic is "the content of our collective unconscious" as Dr. Sukthankar put it in his last public statement on 5th January 1943, its completed Critical Edition may be fitly styled as "the content of our collective conscious" as it will have absorbed the conscious and sustained effort of my countrymen for over three decades of the 20th century,

In my Preface to the First Volume of the Sukthankar Memorial Edition I have given in extenso an account of the genesis and progress of the work of the Memorial Edition Committee but for the information of many of you who may have no time to go through this Preface I shall give here briefly the account of our work on this Memorial Edition and I am sure you will appreciate the efforts of the Memorial Committee in starting and partially executing it in spite of the present difficulties caused by the scarcity of paper and the enormous rise in the cost of printing.

On 20th January 1943 Dr. SUKTHANKAR attended office as usual but left the Institute at about 5 p.m. While leaving he came to me and handed over to me some correspondence from Government and requested me to draft a suitable reply to it as it pertained to the Institute's application for the renewal of Government grants. I promised to draft this reply before 3 p.m. on the following day and accordingly began to draft it immediately. I came to the Institute on 21st January 1943. While engaged in this work I received the alarming news from Dr. Katre that Dr. SUKTHANKAR had been taken to the hospital and was lying there in an unconscious condition. Shortly after this news was received myself, Dr. Katre, Dr. Dandekar and Dr. Belvalkar were at his bedside in the Hospital, where he shuffled off his mortal coil at 7-50 p.m. in spite of the best medical aid of his friends Dr. MODI, Dr. G. D. APTE and other doctors of the Hospital.

Ladies and Gentlemen, this meteoric departure of Dr. SUKTHANKAR, which merged his conscious personality into the "content of the collective unconscious" within 7 to 8 hours, left an abiding impression on the minds of all his friends and colleagues, especially owing to the occurrence of this tragic event within a fortnight of the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Institute. Though Dr. SUKTHANKAR had no respect for bogus scholarship he possessed the greatest respect for genuine scholarly work in any field of learning carried out by any scholar without distinction of caste, creed or nationality. Accordingly he helped myself and my friend Dr. S. M. KATRE, the present Director of the Deccan College Research Institute, in all our joint work for the promotion of Studies in Indology in this country such as the publication of the monthly research journals, the *New Indian Antiquary* and the *Oriental Literary Digest* as also the preparation and publication of Commemoration Volumes in honour of veteran scholars like Dr. F. W. THOMAS, Sir Denison ROSS and M. M. Prof. P. V. KANE and the Extra Series of the *New Indian Antiquary*. We had a mind to publish a volume in honour of Dr. SUKTHANKAR in course of time but Providence decreed otherwise! Partly with a view to carry out this unfulfilled wish of ours and partly for the benefit of scholars interested in Dr. Sukthankar's valuable writings, myself, Dr. KATRE and Prof. D. D. KOSAMBI discussed the idea of bringing out a Memorial Edition of Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S Published Writings with Dr. Mrs. Malinibai SUKTHANKAR, M.B., B.S. and the sons of Dr. SUKTHANKAR within a week of Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S lamented demise. With the substantial support of these members of Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S family and in particular through the good offices of Dr. Mrs. Malinibai, I was encouraged to form a Memorial Edition Committee of the numerous friends of Dr. SUKTHANKAR all over India and outside. A preliminary appeal to these friends was prepared and circulated by me on 26th January 1943 requesting these friends to be members of the Committee and thus co-operate in our work on the scheme of the Memorial Edition as adumbrated in this appeal. The response to this request from these friends was spontaneous and prompt beyond my expectation as will be seen from the list of more than 100 members of the Memorial Edition Committee printed in the First Volume of this Edition that will be put before you presently by our learned President. First and foremost among these friends who encouraged me to proceed with this scheme were Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B.A., the Raja Saheb of AUNDH, who as the originator and promoter of the Mahābhārata work of this Institute had

taken a leading part in the appointment of Dr. SUKTHANKAR as the General Editor of the Mahābhārata in 1925 and Diwan Bahadur K. M. JHAVERI, M.A., LL.B., J.P., an esteemed personal friend of Dr. SUKTHANKAR. Diwan Bahadur JHAVERI was not only associated with Dr. SUKTHANKAR in the working of many academic bodies of this presidency but who is also the Trustee of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, where Dr. Sukthankar lived, moved and had his being for no less than 17 years of his precious life. These two great friends of Dr. SUKTHANKAR readily agreed to be the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Memorial Edition Committee and thus help me in all my work on the projected Edition. The organization of the Committee was thus an accomplished fact almost within a month of Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S lamented demise and the first fruit of this organization which will be shortly shown to you is a permanent Souvenir of the good will left behind by an Indian Scholar, who as the Raja Saheb put it, not only "cherished the Mahābhārata as his own during his life-time but sacrificed himself on its altar at the end."

With the formation of a representative Committee a general Appeal was printed by me on behalf of the Committee and circulated to persons and institutions interested in Oriental learning in general and Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S writings in particular. In this Appeal I have fully set forth the detailed scheme of the Sukthankar Memorial Edition and its estimated cost of Rs. 7,500 or so. In estimating this cost we were fully conscious of our responsibilities in the matter of its publication which required not only accurate editing but the best printing and typography—features essential for any work designed to commemorate the services of an ideal editor of Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S scholarship and learning. Every scholar who came into personal contact with Dr. Sukthankar knows quite well how he loved not only the substantial contents of any scholarly publication but also its scientific and dignified presentation. He believed in the identity of Truth, Beauty and Dignity in the publication of every scholarly work worth the name. The volumes of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata edited by him are a visible embodiment of Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S ideal in this respect. A good edition according to Dr. SUKTHANKAR must be good both within and without and we have tried to make the present First Volume of the Sukthankar Memorial Edition as good as possible within the means at our disposal. But good editions cost money said Dr. Sukthankar in his last public statement at the time of the Silver Jubilee of this Institute on 5th January 1943 and the credit of achieving any goodness in the present Volume must be given to those donors, subscribers and contributors, who have given freely their mite towards the cost of this Edition out of sheer love and appreciation for the national work of the departed scholar as will be seen from the list of these benefactors published in the First Volume of the Memorial Edition. In this brief statement I am unable to thank all these benefactors individually. I shall, however, be failing in my duty if I do not mention here the unstinted generosity of the following contributors but for whose spontaneous response it would have been impossible for the Memorial Edition Committee to bring out the First Volume of the Memorial Edition :—

Rs. 650—Members of the SUKTHANKAR family

- Rs. 150 Dr. Mrs. Malinibai SUKTHANKAR
- 150 Mr. Sitaram B. SUKTHANKAR
- 150 Mr. Shantaram B. SUKTHANKAR
- 150 Mr. Lalnath V. SUKTHANKAR
- 50 Mrs. Gulab GOKHALE.

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Rs. 650

Rs. 150—The University of Bombay

Rs. 100—Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B.A.

Rs. 100\*—Right Hon'ble M. R. JAYAKAR, KT., LL.D., Bombay

Rs. 100—B. J. WADIA, M.A., LL.B., Vice-Chancellor, University of Bombay

Rs. 100—Sir Chunilal B. MEHTA, KT., J.P., and Lady Tapibai C. Mehta, Bombay

Rs. 100—M. N. KULKARNI, Bombay

Rs. 101—Sir C. D. DESHMUKH, KT., Governor, Reserve Bank of India, Bombay.

Rs. 1,401

Besides these donations above Rs. 100—there are some donations of Rs. 50 each and the rest of the contributions range between Rs. 50—and Rs. 20 which entitles a contributor to a free numbered set of the Memorial Edition. On the completion of the work of the Memorial Committee I propose to publish a full report of its work in which all donations, contributions and subscriptions will be indicated in detail. The total amount of these contributions so far realized is about half the estimated cost of Rs. 7,500 for the 2 Volumes of the Edition. Though the realized amount has just enabled us to meet the expenses of the First Volume we have yet to bring out the 2nd Volume of this Edition and I hope that many of you who desire to contribute towards this Edition can now do so and thus facilitate the work of the Committee in bringing out the 2nd Volume of the Edition.

The valuable scholarly contents of the present Volume speak for themselves and will continue to speak with greater resonance as years pass by. As observed by Prof. Edgerton they are the product of Dr. SUKTHANKAR's knowledge and experience (*jñānam savijñānam*) and his native ability which made reputation in three continents as remarked by Shri Tatyasaheb Kelkar in his last tribute to Dr. SUKTHANKAR and later endorsed exactly in identical terms by Dr. Walter RUBEN of Ankara in Turkey. Dr. SUKTHANKAR's literary life was a life of planned action, in which every detail was scrupulously worked out and revised many times before it saw the light of the day. Every page of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata and the Critical Epic Studies that are being presented to the scholars today under one cover bear the stamp of his scholarship and fully illustrate the common adage "If a thing is worth doing, it is worth doing well." Dr. SUKTHANKAR's Prolegomena to the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata, which won for him the honour of being called "the Father of Indian Textual Criticism" was much in demand since its publication. It is being published separately for the first time along with the other Epic Studies of Dr. SUKTHANKAR and thus brought within the means of individual research scholars through the favour of the authorities of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. I feel confident that this First Volume of the Sukthankar Memorial Edition will stimulate the study of Indian Textual Criticism on which the attention of Indian Scholars has been now focussed by Dr. KATRE's able *Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism* (1941) which owes much to Dr. SUKTHANKAR's inspiration and guidance.

It now remains for me to convey the best thanks of the Memorial Edition Committee to several friends and learned bodies for their unstinted co-operation and help in bringing out this First Volume of the Memorial Edition.

My cordial thanks are due to the authorities of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for their kind permission to include in the present Volume the Prolegomena and other Introductions to the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata as also Dr. SUKTHANKAR's Epic Studies published mainly in the Annals of the Institute. Special thanks are due to Principal J. R. GHARPURE, B.A., LL.B., the Chairman of

\* Dr. JAYAKAR was kind enough to announce a further donation of Rs. 200 on 21-1-44 for the Second Volume of the *Memorial Edition*. I take this opportunity of putting on record my grateful appreciation of his spontaneous liberality in helping the work of the *Memorial Edition*.

the Executive Board of the Institute and Dr. R. N. DANDEKAR, M.A., PH.D., the Secretary of the Institute, who is also the Editor of the *Annals* for their uniform courtesy and kindness in securing the above permission. To Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR, M.A., PH.D., the present General Editor of the *Mahābhārata*, I am particularly thankful for keeping at my disposal a copy of *Epic Studies* No. VI which he found in Dr. SUKTHANKAR's office-papers at the Institute. This copy duly revised by Dr. SUKTHANKAR in his own hand has been incorporated in the present Volume. Evidently Dr. SUKTHANKAR had an intention to revise all his *Epic Studies* in course of time and then publish them in their final form after the completion of his work on the Great Epic. Providence, however, decreed otherwise!

As regards the other contributions of Dr. SUKTHANKAR included in the present volume I tender my most grateful thanks:—

- (1) To the authorities of the B. B. R. A. Society, Bombay, for their kind permission to include in the present Volume Dr. SUKTHANKAR's *Epic Studies* No. I published in their *Journal* of which he was Editor for more than 20 years.
- (2) To the authorities of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay, and the Editorial Board of *Sir J. J. Modi Volume* for permission to include Dr. SUKTHANKAR's paper on *Arjunamīra* in this Volume.
- (3) To Mr. B. T. ANKLESARIA, M.A., the Hon. Secretary of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute for drawing my attention to the two papers of Dr. SUKTHANKAR viz. (i) "*Arjunamīra*" and (ii) "*An Excursion on the Periphery of Indological Research*" and in securing the necessary permission of the authorities of his Institute for their inclusion in this Edition. Mr. ANKLESARIA had collaborated with Dr. SUKTHANKAR for a number of years in connection with his work for the Cama Institute and his hearty co-operation in this work of the Memorial Edition by the free supply of the press-copies of the two papers of Dr. Sukthankar mentioned above deserves my best thanks.
- (4) To the Editors of the *Festschrift Prof. P. V. Kane* and Dr. R. N. SARDESAI L.C.P.S., the Proprietor, Oriental Book Agency, Poona, its Publisher for permission to include Dr. SUKTHANKAR's paper on "*Rāmopākhyāna*" published in this Volume.
- (5) To the authorities of the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute and in particular to Dr. S. M. KATRE, M.A., PH.D., its present Director and Editor of their *Bulletin* for their permission to include Dr. SUKTHANKAR's paper on "*Epic Question I—Did Indra assume the form of a swan?*" in this Volume.
- (6) To the Editors of the *Festschrift Dr. F. W. Thomas* and its Publisher Mr. M. N. KULKARNI, the Manager of the Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, for their permission to publish Dr. SUKTHANKAR's paper on "*Rāmopākhyāna* and *Nalopākhyāna*" in the present Volume.

I started my work in connection with the Sukthankar Memorial Edition with the assured initial support of Dr. Mrs. Malinibai B. SUKTHANKAR, M.B., B.S. and other members of the Sukthankar family. This support was further strengthened by the formation of a representative Memorial Edition Committee consisting of numerous friends and admirers of Dr. SUKTHANKAR in different parts of India and outside. This support, encouraging as it was, made me confident enough about the success of this enterprise but I became absolutely fearless in my work when the two great friends of Dr. SUKTHANKAR, I mean Shrimant Rajasaheb of AUNDH and Dewan Bahadur K. M. JHAVERI, agreed to guide me in my work as the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Memorial Edition Committee respectively. Their high regard for our national Epic and its Epic Editor Dr. SUKTHANKAR has been responsible in no small way for the publication of *Epic Studies* of Dr. SUKTHANKAR appearing today

in the form of the First Volume of the SUKTHANKAR Memorial Edition. On the 5th of January 1943 Dr. SUKTHANKAR referred to the Rajasaheb in the following glowing terms :—

"If you want me to point but just one man who is responsible for originating and furthering the project (of the Mahābhārata) he is sitting in front of you, I mean Shrimant Bala Saheb Pant Pratinidhi, the Raja of AUNDH."

We are fortunate in having in our midst today the first anniversary of Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S demise: this very enlightened Raja Saheb now in his 76th year to guide all our literary projects with undaunted zeal and optimism. I cannot adequately thank the Raja Saheb, our Chairman and Dewan Bahadur JHAVERI, our Vice-Chairman as also all other friends for their spontaneous and active co-operation in the work of this Edition.

I began my work in connection with the Memorial Edition with the guaranteed collaboration of my personal friends, Dr. S. M. KATRE, M.A., PH.D., and Prof. D. D. KOSAMBI, M.A. These friends have fulfilled their guarantee to the very letter as they have been responsible for the entire editing of the First Volume. All credit for the careful and accurate editing of this Volume is due to these friends as they have carried out at great inconvenience to themselves the arduous work of seeing the Volume through the press out of their high sense of appreciation and respect for the work of Dr. Sukthankar. Though these friends are the members of the Memorial Committee, I take this opportunity of thanking them most cordially for their disinterested service to Indology in helping the Memorial Edition Committee to bring out the present Volume in the best possible form and get-up.

Dr. SUKTHANKAR was connected with the University of Bombay in several capacities for more than two decades. His cordial relations with all the authorities of the University are evident not only from the grant sanctioned by the Syndicate towards the cost of this Edition but also from the personal generosity of the Vice-Chancellor, the Registrar, the Deputy Registrar, the Librarian and many other office-bearers of the University. I am deeply touched by their prompt and spontaneous response to my appeal regarding this Edition and I convey to all these sincere friends of Dr. SUKTHANKAR as the premier academic body of the Province the grateful thanks of the Memorial Committee for their genuine appreciation of the work of the Committee.

In concluding this brief statement about the progress of the work of the Memorial Edition Committee I must mention the valuable services rendered to the Memorial Edition by Mr. M. N. KULKARNI, the enterprising Manager of the Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, but for whose high regard for Dr. SUKTHANKAR and spontaneous co-operation on the very day this scheme was discussed a year ago we would not have dreamt of undertaking this Edition at a time when the extraordinarily high cost of printing and the scarcity of paper had chilled all academic enterprises in the country. Like my esteemed friends Dr. KATRE and Prof. KOSAMBI Mr. KULKARNI also has fulfilled his guarantee to the letter by publishing this First Volume of the Sukthankar Memorial Edition most promptly and efficiently and thus kept up the high traditions of his Publishing House for excellent printing and typography which are absolutely essential for good editing according to the standards of Dr. SUKTHANKAR.

In presenting to the public today, the First Anniversary of Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S universally lamented demise, this First Volume of the Sukthankar Memorial Edition at the worthy hands of an eminent friend of Dr. SUKTHANKAR I mean our learned President the Right Hon'ble Dr. Babasaheb JAYAKAR, the Memorial Committee has completed half of its promised work. Though I am thankful to all my colleagues on the Memorial Edition Committee for their continuous co-operation so far I must reserve my final thanks to them to a future date when the second Volume of this valuable Edition is completed and presented to the public.

Mr. President, Ladies and gentlemen, I have to thank you very much for your patience and attention in listening to what I have said so far regarding the genesis and progress of the work of the Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee. The successful completion of this work by the publication of the Second Volume of the Edition now requires the sympathy and support of the generous patrons of learning, who I am sure, will be forthcoming before long. I feel also confident that these very patrons of learning will remember the following last public appeal of Dr. SUKTHANKAR to his countrymen for supporting the Institute's Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata to which he devoted no less than 17 years of his precious life.

"When the war-clouds have passed away better days will surely dawn for us; then the thoughts of men will again turn to the preservation and growth of cultural values. We shall then, I am confident, enjoy the same generous support from patrons of learning as we have hitherto enjoyed and that will help us to carry on one of the most important of our national projects."

Poona 4.

21st January 1944.

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P. K. GODI.

## APPENDIX B

Statement read by Dr. V. M. APTE, M.A., PH.D. on 21-1-1944 regarding the work of the *Sukthankar Memorial Volume of the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* edited by him jointly with Dr. H. D. Sankalia, M.A., PH.D.

1. The Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, on behalf of which I have been asked to read this statement, was intimately connected with the late Dr. SUKTHANKAR in more ways than one. He was a member of the College Re-organization Committee, a member of its first Council of Management and a member of its Committee of Direction. But a more vital link was the part he played (unofficially) in inspiring and enthusing, with his infectious zeal, the research-career of the staff and students of the Institute, to whom he was 'a guide, philosopher and friend.' It was in the fitness of things, therefore, that the Institute should have decided at the Condolence Meeting held on 23rd January, 1943, to pay their humble tribute to the memory of the departed *Savant* by bringing out the fifth volume of its *Bulletin* as a Memorial Volume in his honour on the first anniversary of his death. This volume—one of the most effective forms, a Memorial to the Dead can take—is an accomplished fact *to-day*.

2. We may be pardoned for drawing attention to certain special features of this Memorial of ours—this humble Śrāddha offering we bring on the first anniversary of Varṣa-śrāddha day of his death. If the Memorial Edition of all his published writings ready for publication to-day guarantees the preservation to posterity of the light of knowledge (*jñānam savijñānam*) which he gathered in his limited life on this earth, our Memorial Volume is, as it were, a realization, however partial, of what must be the most deeply cherished hope of his relatives, friends and co-workers that the light of SUKTHANKAR'S knowledge may set into a blaze numerous other lights (small, though they may be in comparison) according to the saying of the poet '*pravartito dīpa* (shall we not say '*jñāna-dīpa*') *iva pradīpāt*'.

3. Another special feature is this :—The idea of publishing a Memorial volume was conceived by Dr. KATRE, the Director, and sponsored whole-heartedly by the staff and students at a condolence meeting held at the Institute within less than 48 hours of his death. The Institute was thus the first to rally round from unmanly grief to do the right thing by the Immortal Dead and was probably the earliest in the field to take active steps to commemorate the services of the departed *savant* to Indology in general and the Great Epic in particular.



4. Our Memorial Volume has been devoted mainly to Mahābhārata studies. In explanation of this, as well as by way of emphasis on the versatility of Dr. SUKTHANKAR's intellect to which the Memorial Edition of his published writing bears eloquent testimony, I read an extract from the *Avant-propos* of the Editors of the Institute's Memorial Volume.

5. "It is true that Dr. SUKTHANKAR was a versatile Indologist. He had all the natural gifts and acquired attainments which enabled him to excurse into and dominate many fields of research and he adorned whatever he touched. He gave ample evidence, for example, of his special aptitude and training in philology and linguistics which continued to be his favourite subjects until he switched on to the Mahābhārata. His inquiring gaze was also directed to special objectives in the field of palaeography, epigraphy, archæology and Sanskrit literature—objectives which he held with a masterly eye. Nevertheless, it must be said that it was a wise Providence that decreed on August 4, 1925, that thereafter his life be dedicated to the organization of that great project of national—nay, international—importance, namely the preparation of a Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, the solid foundations whereof were laid by the publication of the completed *Ādiparvan* with the *Prolegomena*, which was hailed by WINTERNITZ in 1934 as 'the most important event in the history of Sanskrit philology since the publication of Max MÜLLER's edition of the *R̥gveda* with Sāyaṇa's Commentary.' There were certain qualities that pre-eminently fitted him for this great undertaking, such as his passion for the application of scientific methods, his objectivity of approach, critical acumen, attention to details, precision and economy of words, his punctiliousness about the typography and get-up of a book and his fastidiousness about its correct printing and proper appearance generally. It is again significant that he made his debut in research in 1914 with a Doctorate dissertation, connected with a Critical Edition of Śākaṭāyana's Grammar (I.1) with the Commentary *Cintāmaṇi* and that the Master who initiated him into the science of text-criticism was Prof. Heinrich LÜDERS who declared, with reference to the completed *Ādiparvan* in 1933, that though the number of his pupils was legion, not one had such brilliant work to his credit. The Mahābhārata work to which he dedicated the last 17 ripe years of his life may therefore be said to be his life-work."

6. In the preparation of this Volume which was completed almost in record time, we had to contend with many unexpected difficulties. The contributions to the Volume came into the hands of the Editors in a press-ready condition by the end of November, 1943. The Government Central Press which began the printing at this time was handicapped by having to attend to Government work with a claim for priority. But it must be said to the credit of the Manager of the Press and his staff that they completed the printing of nearly 400 pages to our satisfaction in the almost record time of less than a month. The Editors who, to save time, had to run up to Bombay and pitch their camp at the Government Central Press for nearly a week are deeply thankful to Dr. KATRE for his unceasing toil and whole-hearted co-operation with the Editors in the examination of proofs and other matters. We are also very grateful to the 'Times of India' Press for executing very rapidly and punctually the half-tone blocks reproduced in this Volume.

7. Finally we thank the SUKTHANKAR Memorial Edition Committee for allowing us to participate in this function and thus giving us an opportunity to do something tangible by way of paying tribute to Dr. SUKTHANKAR who though dead (we are sure) lives again.

## MISCELLANEA

### THE RUDRADAMARŪDBHAVASUTRA VIVARAṆA

In the NIA, VI, 3, for June 1943, Sri Madhava Krishna SARMA has a note on a Ms. of a music tract in the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, whose colophon bears the title given above. In his note, Sri M. K. SARMA has pointed the entire material available in the MS., which is not more than 45 verses, with a little prose thrown in.

The work is to be classed with the Dattila-Kohaliya, which once existed in the Tanjore Library and has now migrated to the Tirupati Institute Library, works which are indifferent compilations based on the *Saṅgīta Ratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva but ascribed to some name of ancient association. The compiler's real or assumed name is not given in this MS. Of the 45 verses here, many are taken from Śārṅgadeva's *Saṅgīta Ratnākara*. Line one describing the musician called Gandharva is S. R. III. 12; lines 2-3 are not in the S. R., but the second line of verse 2 describing the svarādi type of singer is S. R. III. 12. From verse 3 to 13a, the description of the Uttama, Madhyama and Adhama Gāyanas, another set of 5 kinds of singers, and a third classification of these into Eka, Yamala and Vṛnda, are all from the S. R. III, verses 13-22a. The section noted "इति गायनगुणाः" and ending with 12a is followed by a section describing Gāyana doṣas, from 12b to 15a, which represent S. R. III. 24 to 26a. Of the verses on Tāla in the end of the MS., from 51b to 43, the text is S. R. V, 13-14; and 44b to 45 are S. R. V. 8b, 9 and 10a.<sup>1</sup>

Of the remaining verses, the import of 27 to 35 is clear. In the remaining lines, especially 15-26, there is some attempt to correlate the Svaras of music to the vowels of Sanskrit forming part of the Akṣarasamāmnāya which is traditionally held to have been born of the Damaru of Śiva. In 16, six kinds of Sūtra are mentioned, Tattva, Mantra, Bhūta, Raudra, Śārasvata and Pāta; of these, the Rudra-sūtra is identical with the Māheśvarasūtras of Sanskrit Grammar, comprising 42 Akṣaras (verses 18 and 22a), A, I, U, R, Ḍ, E, O, Ai, Au and K to H. With the long series of the first five vowels and An and Aṅ, they are 49 (verses 19-20). In the Māheśvara sūtras, the first is Tryakṣara<sup>2</sup>, A, I, U; the second, third and fourth are, each Dvyakṣara: R, Ḍ; E, O; Ai, Au. (verses 22-23). Of these nine, svaras are really seven only, as R, Ḍ are neutral letters, Napumsaka (verses 23-24), and hence the second sūtra RḌk is futile (Dvitiyam tu nirarthakam—verse 25a). Of the remaining three vowel sūtras, the first is short, the third long and fourth (of Ai and Au) pluta. A, I, U are the musical svaras Sa, Ri, Ga; E, O are Ma and Pa; Ai and Au are Dha and Ni (verse 26). This is the derivation of the seven Svaras of Music from the seven Svaras (vowels) of the Māheśvara Sūtras!

If the melodic Svaras are traced to the linguistic Svarasūtras of Rudra's hand-drum, should not the basis of the rhythm, Tāla, be also found in the same four Svara-sūtras of the Samāmnāya? 'Yes, I am game' says the author in verses 37-39. The first Sūtra is Laghu, third Guru and fourth Pluta. The Mātrākāla lying at the basis of this distinction Laghu etc. is also the basis of Tāla! In the

1. In 2a मंत्रगीतादि must be मन्दरीतादि. In 4a, the second quarter is विविधालापतत्त्ववित्. In 5b, the first quarter, is छयालगाभिः. In 13b, and, Udbhaṭa is Udvāḍa. In 15a, the number is पञ्चविंशतिः

2. Wrong as printed अक्षरं प्रथमं सूत्रम्.

prose passage intervening between 39 and 40, this idea appears to be related to the *Tālaprastāra*.

Thus indeed is *Mārga Saṅgita*, its *Svara* and as well as *Tāla*, based on the *Rudra-ḍamarīdibhava-sūtras*!! A similar pious but unnecessary preoccupation of some other late music writers is to deduce somehow the Seven *Svaras* of music from the *Gāyatrī*.<sup>3</sup>

*Madras.*

V. RAGHAVAN.

### LAKSMĪDHARA'S VRATAKĀṆDA RECOVERY OF A MISSING SECTION OF THE KRṬYAKALPATARU

Two sections of Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtyakalpataru* have been known<sup>1</sup> to be missing for several years. Scholars<sup>2</sup> have made their surmises as regards the subject-matter of these missing sections and have assigned them the seventh and the ninth places respectively in the treatise.

While on tour at Saugor (C.P.) in October 1942 on a mission of procuring valuable MSS for the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, I accidentally traced out a MS of the *Vratākāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* in the collection of a Mahārāṣṭra Paṇḍita family residing there for several generations. The MS at once attracted my attention as the *Kāṇḍa* had not been mentioned by AUFRECHT or KANE<sup>3</sup> and I lost no time and spared no effort to procure it for our Institute. On communicating the news of our acquisition of the MS to Rao Bahadur K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR, whose *editio princeps* of the various *Kāṇḍas* of this pre-Hemādri compendium on Dharma is being published in the Gekwad's Oriental Series in instalments, I was intimated that he, too, has recently secured another MS of this *Vratākāṇḍa* for his edition. However, as his MS, as he himself informs me, is broken both in the beginning and in the end, the importance of our MS which is complete remains undiminished. A brief description of this hitherto missing *Kāṇḍa* and of our MS of the same would therefore be of use to scholars.

The MS, now forming Accession No. 6102 of the MSS Library of the Scindia Oriental Institute, consists of 126 folios of thin country-paper of the size 11×4½ inches with a margin of about an inch left on the four sides of each page. Each page contains about 11 to 13 lines with about 42 letters on each line. The MS is also prefixed with three additional folios containing a subject-index to the contents of the sections written by a different hand. The script is old Devanāgarī, the letters अ, इ, ए, etc. being of the Hindi type. Dark-black ink is used throughout and marks of red and yellow pigments are found at several places. The handwriting of the main scribe is rather clumsy but legible. Mistakes are found here and there but generally the correct readings can be easily made out. At some places, however, we find space left blank for subsequent insertion of a few letters which have been left out. The scribe's name and date are not found but the MS appears to be at least two or three centuries old. It is extremely worn-out and

3. See my Introduction to *Saṅgitasārasaṅgrahamu*, Music Academy Series, Madras, pp. xii-xiii.

1. Vide P. V. KANE: *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. I (1930), p. 316, and others.

2. E.g., M. M. CHAKRAVARTI (*JASB*, 1915, pp. 358-359) and others.

3. Vide *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I, pp. 84-85, 114,<sup>b</sup> 780<sup>a</sup>; Vol. II, pp. 23,<sup>a</sup> 114<sup>b</sup>; Vol. III, p. 25<sup>b</sup> and *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. I, p. 315 ff.

some of its folios are considerably damaged, torn and moth-eaten on the sides of margins. Unluckily, several MSS of the original collection to which this MS belonged were completely destroyed by white-ants and silvery worms and it, too, would have met the same fate if it had not been rescued for some time more.

In his introduction the author deals with the importance of Vrata in Hindu life and cites stock examples of some mythical personages that have immensely benefited by Vratas. He next cites definitions of Vratas, including Upavāsas etc., and notes down the general rules, restrictions, their exceptions, counter-exceptions etc. in connection with the observance of Vratas, also mentioning the ingredients of some Dhūpas as essential accessories to the same. He then deals at length with the various Vāra-Vratas (F. 3<sup>a</sup>-9<sup>a</sup>) including an Anagadānavrata, prescribed for prostitutes only, among Sunday Vows, Tithi-Vratas (9<sup>a</sup>-106<sup>b</sup>), Nakṣatra-Vratas (106<sup>b</sup>-111<sup>b</sup>), Māsa-Vratas (111<sup>a</sup>-116<sup>a</sup>), Saṁkrānti-Vratas and other Vratas involving durations, (116<sup>a</sup>-121<sup>a</sup>) and Prakīrṇa or Miscellaneous Vratas (121<sup>a</sup>-126<sup>a</sup>).

Lakṣmīdhara deals with all these Vratas mostly by citing relevant passages from some Smṛtis, epics and Purāṇas, but he also supplements the citations with his own commentary on the difficult and dubious portions therein. Among the works and authors cited in this Kāṇḍa I could trace the following :-

अत्रि, आदित्यपुराण, आपस्तम्ब, कालिकापुराण, छागलेय, देवल, देवीपुराण, नन्दिकेश्वर,<sup>4</sup> नरसिंहपुराण, पद्मपुराण, बृहस्पति, ब्रह्मपुराण, भविष्यपुराण, मत्स्यपुराण, मनु,<sup>5</sup> महाभारत, वराहपुराण, (वाराह पुराण), बामनपुराण, विष्णु, विष्णुपुराण, वृद्धशतातप, सुमन्तु,<sup>6</sup> स्कन्दपुराण.

Almost each of these has been cited numerously.

The MS begins :-

“ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ नानातन्त्रविचारचारुविलसन्वातुयन्विन्तामणिब्रह्मादिप्रकटप्रदोशयमनान्यङ्गैर्युतान्यादरात् । षष्ठे सज्जनचित्तवाञ्छितफलान्यस्मिन् व्रतानि स्फुटं काण्डे वक्ति मुदा विविचरितः श्रीमान्स लक्ष्मीधरः ॥ १ ॥ वारव्रतानि तिथिजान्यागमोक्तानि विस्तरात् । वक्ष्ये बहुफलान्यस्मिन् हृद्यानि निजलीलया ॥ २ ॥ व्रतमेव परं लोकसाधनं भोगसाधनम् । व्रतेनैव जयो यस्मात्पत्न्यात्सर्वो व्रतं चरेत् ॥ ३ ॥ व्रतेन सुजयो राजा सार्वभौमोऽभवत्कृते । त्रेतायां धार्मिको रामो द्वापरे सुभजनयः । कलौ विक्रमभूपालस्तस्माद् व्रतफलं महत् ॥ ४ ॥ एको दोषो मनुष्याणां व्रतमेव महात्मना । प्रोक्तो नानाविधैस्तन्त्रैः शङ्करेण हरिं प्रति ॥ ५ ॥ सन्ति यद्यपि भूयांसो लोके धर्मा युगे युगे । तथापि व्रतधर्मेऽस्य कलां नार्हन्ति षोडशीम् ॥ ६ ॥ व्रतेन मुक्तिमापन्ना हरिणाक्षी वसुन्धरा विक्रमस्य सुता साध्वी दशार्ण-विनिवासिनी ॥ ७ ॥ देवता दितिपुत्राश्च सिद्धा गन्धर्वकिन्नराः । ऋषयश्च परां सिद्धिमुपवासेरवाप्नुवन् ॥ ८ ॥ तथा—क्षुद्रैर्यसंज्ञान्प्राणांश्च आदत्ते धैर्यमेव च । योऽधुजंयान्ताजयति स्वर्गं तेन जितो भवेत् (?) ॥ ९ ॥ भविष्यपुराणे—उपावृत्तस्य दोषेभ्यो यस्तु वासो गुणैः सह । उपवासः स विज्ञेयः सर्वभोगविवर्जितः ॥ १० ॥ दोषा रागद्वेषादयः । गुणाः करुणादयः ।

It ends : “.....गन्धमाल्यनिवृत्त्या तु कीर्तिर्भवति पुष्कल । केशमश्रुन्धारयतामप्या भवति संततिः ॥ उपवासं च दीक्षां वाप्यभिषेकं च पार्थिव । कृत्वा द्वादश वर्षाणि वीरयानाद्विधिष्यते ॥ इति श्रीमहलक्ष्मीधरविरचिते कृत्यकल्पतरौ व्रतकाण्डं समाप्तम् ॥ ११ ॥ ६ ॥ ”

Lakṣmīdhara is used to specify<sup>6</sup> the serial position of each Kāṇḍa in his metrical

4. The Kāṇḍa locates the passages attributed to Nandikeśvara in the *Matsya-purāṇa* only in some cases.

5. The passages attributed to these are possibly from some Purāṇas which are not named in the Kāṇḍa at the respective places.

6. E.g. “न्याये वस्मिनि यज्जगद्गुणवतां गेहेषु यदन्तिनो राक्षं मूर्धनि यत्पदं व्यरचयद्गोविन्द-

introduction to the same. Hitherto the *Pratiṣṭhākāṇḍa* has been generally known to form the sixth section of the *Kṛtyakalpataṛu*. However, the opening verse of the author's introduction cited above unmistakably claims the sixth place for the present *Vratākāṇḍa* itself. This raises a fresh and important issue necessitating a re-examination of old MSS of the *Pratiṣṭhākāṇḍa* for settling the rival claims of the two *Kāṇḍas* for the sixth place.

Ujjain  
12-2-43

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SADASHIVA L. KÂTRE

चन्द्रो नृपः । तत्सर्वं खलु यस्य मन्त्रमहिमाधर्यं स लक्ष्मीधरः काण्डे शंसति राजधर्मनिचयानेकादशे पुण्यवर्षे ॥”

and “ नामाशास्त्रबोधिवारचतुरे प्रज्ञाबलस्थापितं व्याप्त्यादिव्यवहारमार्गविशदास्तास्ताः प्रगल्भा गिरः । यस्याकर्ण्य विपश्चितः प्रतिसर्भं रोमाचमातन्वते काण्डे स व्यवहारमत्र तनुते लक्ष्मीधरो द्वादशे ॥”

quoted by KANE in *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 316, footnote.

7. Vide *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I, p. 780,<sup>a</sup> *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 316, etc.

## REVIEW

*Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilisation : Volume I (From Sixth Century B.C. to the Sixth Century A.D.)*, edited by Dines Chandra SIRCAR, M.A., PH.D. University of Calcutta, 1942. Royal 8vo, xli, 530. Price Rs. 15.

The study of Indian Inscriptions in the Universities of our country has been of a very limited kind, restricted mostly to a few students and scholars who wish to carry on higher research in Ancient Indian History. Students of Sanskrit literature or of Prakrit literature have little opportunity to study these records which are so rich in references to various aspects of Indian life and thought. Most of these epigraphic records are scattered over inaccessible journals, and works like the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* are generally beyond the reach of average scholars. To obviate these defects and to encourage a first-hand study of such records, the present volume has been conceived and executed with a remarkable vision. Although it cannot replace the original sources where the records have been published, with reproductions of their estampages or photographs, it is an introduction which is bound to enhance the value, from a literary point of view, of these records by bringing them within the reach of an average Sanskrit and Prakrit scholar. By doing this service to epigraphic literature the author has paid his debt to Indian History and Indian Literature, and it is hoped that this book will be made use of considerably by those scholars for whom it is essentially meant; and that parts of it will be prescribed for University Students studying Sanskrit and Prakrit.

Dr. SIRCAR has limited the first volume to a period covering the first six centuries before and after the present Christian Era. Naturally the book begins with the Old Persian Inscriptions of Darius found at Behistūn, Persepolis and Naqsh-e Rostam; for these serve as a model for the Mauryan Inscriptions, the justly famous Inscriptions of Aśoka. This is followed by a certain group of miscellaneous inscriptions, like the Piprahvā Buddhist Vase inscription or the Sohgaūrā copper-plate inscription. The second book deals with post-Mauryan inscriptions down to the Gupta Age, and the last book deals with the records of the Imperial Gupta age. In the selection of the material the learned editor has given due consideration to the variety of composition as of find-spots, so that a bird's-eye view of ancient epigraphic records, whether inscribed on stone, copper-plates, pottery, or casket-vases, etc., and gold and silver, is presented to the reader. Extra-Indian records have also been utilised, such as those found in Ceylon, Central Asia, Burma, Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Java and Champā. All the provinces in India are represented. Thus the collection is very representative.

The text of the Inscriptions is given in Devanāgarī characters—a distinct advantage to Indian students. In the case of languages other than Sanskrit (i.e. Old Persian or Prakrits) a Sanskrit rendering helps the reader in following the original text. Several illustrations adorn the volume and give an opportunity to the reader to study the inscriptions in their original characters. The information given at the head of each epigraph, regarding its find-spot, characters, age, and the source where it has been critically edited or studied, is quite exhaustive. The University Student in India to-day has a modest volume within his reach which will enable him to appreciate the literature embedded within the epigraphic records which have so far attracted only a student of history and of sociology; it is specially designed for him, and it is to be expected that our Universities will now try to remove a long-standing blemish by including parts of this work for

study by the undergraduates. In fact the suggestion of the Editor that some parts of the Sanskrit renderings of Aśoka Inscriptions might even be prescribed for high school standards is one worthy of consideration by the relevant bodies; for they can not only convey to the youthful minds of our boys and girls the glory that was Ind during the Maurya times, but also the moral elevation and the spiritual dominance which was combined with an Empire which far exceeded the present boundaries of the country politically. India's first great ruler and emperor deserves this unique place in the hearts of Indians and the Sanskrit word for word rendering will probably make for this understanding.

\* Owing to the manner of its publication the editor has been handicapped by a number of avoidable errors in printing and get-up; but these are minor faults which a discerning reader can easily correct; and the Editor has actually compiled a long corrigenda. The Index is extremely useful. Dr. SIRCAR as well as the University of Calcutta have a claim on our gratitude for bringing out this timely volume, and it is hoped that notwithstanding the present difficulties the subsequent volumes will be brought out in quick succession. Mention should also be made of the Calcutta Oriental Press which has set up the letter-press in excellent style and the typography is almost faultless and extremely clear. The get-up of the volume leaves nothing to be desired and the Calcutta University has maintained its prestige for publishing good books, good within and without,—in a modern garb.

S. M. K.

## GAṄGĀPURĪ BHATṬĀRAKA, AN ADVAITIN

By

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Citsukha, according to the Commentator, Pratyagrūpa Bhagavan, refers to one Gaṅgāpurī Bhaṭṭāraka. In his *Nayanaprasādini*, or more fully the *Mānasa-nayanaprasādini*, which is a commentary on the *Pratyaktattvopra-dīpikā* of Citsukha, Pratyagrūpa points out in two places that Citsukha, refers to the views of Gaṅgāpurī Bhaṭṭāraka.

अत्र गङ्गापुरी भट्टारकोदीरितक्षणमनुवदति—ननु किमित्यादिना ( न. प्रसङ्गिनी )

ननु उभयसम्मततायथार्थव्यवहारे हेतुज्ञानमात्रपक्षीकरणात् उभयपरिहारः इति गङ्गापुरीयं मतं शङ्कते—अयथार्येति ( p. 63. of Nay. Pra. )

Citsukha himself elsewhere directly refers to the view of the followers of Gaṅgāpurī and refutes it. In his commentary on the *Nyāyamakaranda* of Ānandabodha,<sup>1</sup> Citsukha says :

ननु नित्यत्वस्य गगने, मायावादिभिरनङ्गीकरणात् साधनविकलो दृष्टान्तः । विभुत्वस्य सर्वमूर्त-संयोगलक्षणस्यात्मनि निर्धर्मोऽसंभवात् स्वरूपासिद्धिः इति गङ्गापुरीयाः इति चेन्न; परसम्मतहेतुद्वयाङ्गी-कारेण परं प्रत्यनिष्ठापादनात् । ( p. 30 )

Let us examine who this Gaṅgāpurī was. Mr. T. M. TRIPATHI in his introduction to his edition of Ānandajñāna's *Tarkasaṅgraha* in the Gackwad's Oriental Series, says that in the plan of the *Tarkasaṅgraha*, the author, Ānandajñāna generally follows the order of the topics contained in the *Padārthatattvanirṇaya* of Gaṅgāpurī, omitting the section on the enumeration of categories (*uddeśaprakaraṇa*) and the section dealing with bondage and emancipation (*saṁsārāpavargaprakaraṇa*).<sup>2</sup> Further on<sup>3</sup> he continues to say that the *Padārthatattvanirṇaya* was written by Gaṅgāpurī Bhaṭṭāraka, who is referred to in the *Nayanaprasādini*, on Citsukhi, pp. 8.63. The work, *Padārthatattvanirṇaya* is referred to also by Appayya Dīkṣita in his *Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha*.<sup>4</sup> Gaṅgāpurī flourished after the author of the *Nyāya-līlāvati*, somewhere between (984—1078 A.D.) according to Ānandajñāna and before Ānandabodhācārya (before 1200 A.D.) according to Citsukha.<sup>5</sup> TRIPATHI also mentions two manuscripts of the *Padārthatattvanirṇaya*, one in the library of the Benares Sanskrit College and the other in the Saṅgha Bhandāra at Patṭān.<sup>6</sup>

1. Printed in the Chowk. S. Series. This com. though attributed to Citsukha is really by his pupil, Sukhaprakāśa, for which see my paper 'Sukhaprakāśa—His identity and Works' in the Silver Jubilee Number of the Annals of the B. O. R. Institute.

2. *Tarkasaṅgraha*, Intro. p. ii, G. O. S. III.

3. *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

4. See p. 12 of Mad. Uni. edn.

5. *Tarkasaṅgraha*, intro. p. xiv.

6. *Ibid.*



Prof. DAS GUPTA<sup>7</sup> too, attributes the work, *Padārthatattvanirṇaya*, to Gaṅgāpurī, evidently relying on TRIPATHI'S information.

But it remains to be examined on what grounds TRIPATHI attributes the work to Gaṅgāpurī.

From the colophon of copies of the *Padārthatattvanirṇaya* available in the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library,<sup>8</sup> Adyar Library,<sup>9</sup> Trivandrum Curator's Office Library, etc., the author is ascertained to be Ānandānubhava, a 'disciple of Nārāyaṇa Jyotiḥ'.<sup>10</sup> Obviously Gaṅgāpurī cannot be another name of Ānandānubhava; for 'purī' and 'anubhava' are both suffixes usually found associated with the names of Sannyāsins and one and the same recluse is not known by more than one appellation of the type of *purī* or *anubhava*. It may be said that this difficulty can be apparently solved by accepting the words *purī* and *anubhava* as signifying different stages of the sannyāsa. For according to the *Bṛhacchāṅkaravijaya*, referred to in a book<sup>11</sup> called *Avadhūtāśrama* (?), the recluse has a ten-fold nomenclature :

अवधूतानां दशधा संज्ञा बृहच्छङ्करविजये ।

तीर्थाश्रमवनारण्यगिरिपर्वतसागराः ।

सरस्वती भारती च पुरीति दश कीर्तिताः ॥

But even the authority of this *Bṛhacchāṅkaravijaya* cannot be much pressed in to identify Gaṅgāpurī with Ānandānubhava; for the reason that *Anubhava* is not included in the list and because such identification has no correspondence with facts. Further details about Ānandānubhava, his date and works etc. may be had from my separate paper on Ānandānubhava, which is to be published shortly.

Mr. TRIPATHI identifies the author of the *Padārthatattvanirṇaya* (namely Ānandānubhava) with Gaṅgāpurī on slender grounds. First of all, his evidence is the reference to Gaṅgāpurī in the *Nayanaprasādīnī*. As the author of the *Nayanaprasādīnī*, Pratyagrūpa, flourished late, sometime in the 14th century<sup>12</sup> A.D., his evidence regarding the source to which Citsukha refers, may not be quite reliable. But as will be shown at a later stage in the same paper, his authority is not altogether without value. Further Pratyagrūpa does not mention Gaṅgāpurī as identical with the author of the *Padārthatattvanirṇaya*; and hence the identification of Gaṅgāpurī as the author of the *Padārthatattvanirṇaya*, loses force. Again, Citsukha, too does not men-

7. *History of Indian Philosophy*, II, pp. 50-51.

8. No. R. 2981.

9. Adyar 34 J 39.

10. The colophon reads :—

इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्य श्रीमन्नारायणज्योतिःशिष्येण भगवता आनन्दानु-  
भवेन विरचितः पदार्थतत्त्वनिर्णयः समाप्तः ।

11. Hāraprasad SHASTRĪ : *Notices*, New Series III, No. 13.

12. See *Des. Cat. of Skt. Mss. in the Sarasvatī Bhavan Library, Benares*, Vol. I, Pūr. Mīm. intro. p. iv, by Mm. Gopinātha KAVIRĀJ.

tion directly Gaṅgāpurī as the author of the *Padārthatattvanirṇaya*. He makes mention only of the Gaṅgāpurīyas, followers of Gaṅgāpurī.

Let us now examine the information contained in the Mss. of the *Padārthatattvanirṇaya*, mentioned by TRIPATHI. One Ms. of this work that was probably accessible to him for examination, was from the Sanskrit College Library, Benares. In the Catalogue of the Mss. in the Benares Sanskrit College (1918-30) recently issued by Mm. Gopināth KAVIRAJ, on p. 129 is found an entry '*Padārthatattvanirṇaya*' classified in the Ny vaiśeṣika section. In the remarks column it is mentioned that on the edge of the book (ms.) names such as "गंगा, पु," "गंगा, टी," and "गंगा" are found. My curiosity was aroused and I applied to the librarian and got extracts of the beginning, end, etc. from this ms. On comparison with the beginning etc. in the Madras Ms. I found that the *Padārthatattvanirṇaya* entered in the Benares Catalogue under the Ny. Vaiś. section, is the same as that of Ānandanubhava available in the Madras and Adyar libraries, for the beginning is the same. The Benares Ms. runs only to the end of the pūrvapakṣa-pariccheda, describing in detail the categories according to the Ny-Vaiśeṣika. The siddhānta-pariccheda is missing in it. This explains why in the Catalogue the Ms. was classified under Ny-Vaiśeṣika.

The other Manuscript, mentioned by TRIPATHI as existing in the Saṅgha Bhandar at Paṭṭan, was not accessible to me. Perhaps, it was also not available to TRIPATHI. He might have utilised only the information available about it from the late C. D. DALAL's *Report on the search for rare manuscripts in the Jain Bhandars at Paṭṭan*. This report is now printed in full in the preface to the *Descriptive Catalogue of Mss. at Paṭṭan*, Vol. I., by L. B. GANDHI, G. O. S. LXXVI. On p. 45 of this report is found an entry thus :

"*Padārthatattvaṭīparyādīpikā* : by Ānandānubhava, pupil of Nārāyaṇa Jyotiṣ, with the commentary 'Mitākṣarā' otherwise called Gaṅgāpurī." The title of the work given above is rather confusing and the description also leads one to infer that Gaṅgāpurī probably wrote a commentary called *Mitākṣarā* on the work of Ānandānubhava and that in the Saṅgha Bhandar Ms. both the original and the Commentary are contained. Accordingly, to verify this piece of pure inference, I applied to Mr. L. B. GANDHI for extracts from this Ms. and he favoured me with a reply. He informed me that the statement of C. D. DALAL about *Padārthatattvaṭīparyādīpikā* was wrong, as it seems to have been based on the information about three works, which were confused together by him. The extracts of those three works, I reproduce below, as supplied by L. B. GANDHI.

I. पदार्थतत्त्वनिर्णय ( गङ्गापुरीय-प्रथमखण्ड ) प्रारंभे-श्रीशिवाय नमः ।

सजयति सिन्धुरवदनो देवो यत्पादपङ्कजस्मरणम् । एतत्

प्रणम्य विश्वसाक्षिणं गुरुं तदात्मनस्तथा ।

पदार्थतत्त्वनिर्णयः प्रवक्ष्यते प्रबोधकृत् ॥

प्रथमखण्डप्रारंभे-इति पदार्थतत्त्वनिर्णये पूर्वपक्षपरिच्छेदः ।

( गङ्गापुरीय-द्वितीयखण्ड )

प्रारंभे—

उच्यते तत्त्वतो नैवं पदार्थस्य विनिश्चयः ।

प्रमाणासंभवात्तस्मादद्वैतं तत्त्वमिष्यताम् ॥

यत्तावत् मित्राः द्रव्यादयः पदार्थाः इति मतं, तदविचारमुन्दरं व्यवहारगोचरविषयमभ्युपेयो न तत्त्वगोचरः ।

पदार्थनिर्णयो जीयात् प्रतिपक्षातिशातनः ।

श्रेयोहर्म्योरुक्षूणां दत्तहस्तावलंबनः ॥

इति परमहंस-परिव्राजकाचार्य-श्रीमन्नारायणज्योतिःशिष्येण भगवता आनन्दानुभवेन विरचितः पदार्थतत्त्वनिर्णयः समाप्तः ।

II. पदार्थ-निर्णयव्याख्या ( मिताक्षरा )

प्रारंभे—ओं नमो वीतरागाय ।

यस्मादेतत् समुत्पन्नं उत्पन्नं येन वर्धते ।

यस्मिन्नेव पुनर्लीनं सोऽहमस्मि सुखाद्वयम् ॥

पूर्वाचार्यवचोऽभोधेः उद्धृत्यैवातिथ्यन्तः ।

पदार्थनिर्णयस्याहं कुर्वे व्याख्यां मिताक्षराम् ॥

प्रान्ते—

मिताक्षरा त्वयं जीयात् व्याख्यातृणां तत्त्वविज्ञानं भूयान्न विमोचकम् ।

इति गंगापुरीभाष्यं समाप्तम् ।

III. पदार्थतत्त्वतात्पर्य-टीका

प्रान्ते—

इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्य-शुद्धानन्दमुनिवरशिष्येणानन्दज्ञानमुनिना कृतायां पदार्थ-तत्त्वतात्पर्यटीकायां सिद्धान्तपरिच्छेदः समाप्तः ।

Evidently from the foregoing extracts, it is quite clear, that the Ms. in the Sanghavī Bhandar contained three works :

(1) The *Padārthatattvanirṇaya* by Ānandānubhava, disciple of Nārāyaṇa Jyotis.

(2) Commentary thereon, called *Mitākṣarā* or *Bhāṣya* by Gaṅgāpurī and

(3) Commentary on (1) by Ānandajñāna, pupil of Śuddhānanda. This Commentary called *Tātparyālikā*.

The extracts of (1) exactly correspond with those of the *Padārthatattva-nirṇaya* found in the Adyar and Madras Libraries. In addition to the text, we have in the Madras library two commentaries on it, one by Ānandajñāna<sup>13</sup> and the other by Ātmasvarūpa.<sup>14</sup> The commentary or *bhāṣya* by Gaṅgāpurī is not so far available anywhere else.

Thus it seems highly probable that TRIPATHI mistook the Commentator, Gaṅgāpurī for the author of the *Padārthatattvanirṇaya*, viz. for Ānandānubhava. Probably the remarks such as 'गंगा. पु.', 'गंगा. टी.', and 'गंगा' found

on the cover or edge of the Benares Ms. led him to attribute the work to Gaṅgāpurī.<sup>15</sup>

This is not all. There are fresh difficulties to be solved. It has been said above that in the *Nayanaprasādini*, Pratyakṣvarūpa, in two places refers to Gaṅgāpurī or rather to Citsukha citing from Gaṅgāpurī. In addition, to Pratyakṣvarūpa's commentary is a Ms. copy of Sukhaprakāśa's commentary on the *Citsukhī*, available in the Madras Mss. Library. As Sukhaprakāśa was Citsukha's direct disciple, his information on the sources from which Citsukha drew arguments, either in support of his own statements, or for refutation, would be much valuable and reliable, as there is likely to be preserved in him a continuity of tradition. I examined the Ms. of this commentary and found Gaṅgāpurī referred to in many places. So much so, I think it would be useful to draw a comparative account of the references to Gaṅgāpurī from both these commentators, Sukhaprakāśa and Pratyakṣvarūpa.

(1) *Citsukhī*, p. 6.

अथ “ अनुभूतिः अनुभूतिव्यवहारहेतुप्रकाशः, अनुभूतित्वात्, यत्रैवं तत्रैवं यथा षटः ”

इत्यनुमानं प्रमाणम् ।

Sukhaprakāśa identifies the author of this syllogism as Gaṅgāpurī as is evident from his avatārikā :

गङ्गापुरीयं प्रमाणमुपन्यस्यति—अथेति ( p. 5 of his Com. on *Citsukhī* ).

whereas Pratyakṣvarūpa says that the syllogism is taken from the *Nyāyaraṭnadīpāvali* :

न्यायरत्नदीपावलीकृतं ( कृतां ought to be correct ? ) अनुमानमुपन्यस्यति—अथानुभूतिः इत्यादिना ( Nay. Pra. p. 6. ).

The *Nyāyaraṭnadīpāvali* is an advaitic work by Ānandānubhava, a copy of which is available in the Madras Mss. Library, R. No. 5505. On p. 49. of this Ms. there is a similar syllogism :

प्रयोगस्तु—आत्मा आत्मव्यवहारकारणप्रकाशः, द्रष्टृत्वात् कुंभवदिति व्यतिरेकी ।

Another syllogism also is found in the same, elsewhere, with which the above can be compared :

प्रयोगस्तु—विवादपदं स्वव्यवहारहेतुप्रकाशः, संवित्त्वात् कुंभवत्—इति व्यतिरेकी ।

( p. 53. of Ny. Rat. Dip. )

(2) *Citsukhī*, p. 8.

ननु किमिदं साध्यमानं वेद्यत्वं वास्तवं अवास्तवं आहोस्वित् व्यावहारिकम्, अथवा साधारणम् ? ।

Both the commentators, Sukhaprakāśa and Pratyakṣvarūpa identify the extract as taken from Gaṅgāpurī.

(a) गङ्गापुरीयं दूषणमुपन्यस्यति—नन्विति । ( p. 7 of Sukh. Com. )

(b) अत्र गङ्गापुरीमद्वारकोदीरितदूषणमनुवदति ( p. 8, Nay. Pra. )

In the *Nyāyaraṭnadīpāvali*, however, a corresponding text is traceable :

15. In the top margin of the first leaf of the Adyar Ms. also it is written as गङ्गापुरीयम् ।

किं च वास्तवशून्यत्वं साध्यं किंवा वास्तवं आहोस्वित् दृश्यत्वमात्रं । आद्ये साध्यशून्यो दृष्टान्तः । इतरयोस्तु सिद्धसाधनता । (p. 52.)

The fourth alternative as introduced in *Citsukhi* is not found in the *Nyā. Rat. Dipāvali*.

(3) *Citsukhi*, p. 56.

यत्तु कैश्चिदनुमानं रचितम्—न तावदज्ञानं ज्ञानाभावः, अभावमानागम्यत्वात् संप्रतिपन्नवत् । अभावो हि अभावस्य प्रत्यक्षस्य वा विषयः परेणेष्ट्यते । अज्ञानं च न मानगम्यम्, माननिवर्त्यत्वात् संप्रतिपन्नवत्—इति ।

This syllogism is introduced by Sukhaprakāśa with the *avatārikā* :

**गङ्गापुरीयोक्तमुपन्यस्यति—यत्त्विति** (p. 38).

whereas Pratyakṣavarūpa says :

**न्यायदीपावलीकृतं** (न्यायरत्नदीपावलीकृतां should be correct) **अनुमानमुद्भावयति—यत्त्विति** (*Naya Prāsādinī*, p. 56.)

The syllogism found in *Citsukhi* itself is traceable in the *Ny. Rat. Dip.* pp. 92-93 :

न तावदज्ञानं ज्ञानाभावः अभावमानागम्यत्वात् संप्रतिपन्नवत् । अभावो ह्यभावस्य प्रत्यक्षस्य वा विषयः परेणेष्ट्यते । अज्ञानं च न मानगम्यं माननिवर्त्यत्वात् ।

(4) *Citsukhi*, p. 63.

**अयथार्थव्यवहारहेतोः ज्ञानस्य पक्षीकरणाददोषः ।**

Sukhaprakāśa understands this as taken from Gaṅgāpurī. His *avatārikā* is :

**गङ्गापुरीयमाशङ्कते—अयथार्थेति** (p. 43.)

Pratyakṣavarūpa also does the same :

ननुभय संमतायथार्थव्यवहारे हेतुज्ञानमात्रपक्षीकरणात् उभयपरिहार इति **गङ्गापुरीयं मतं शङ्कते** । (p. 63.)

In the *Ny. Rat. Dip.* pp. 69-70, a corresponding sentence is traceable :

ननु—पराभिमतभ्रान्त्यभ्युपगमे अपसिद्धान्तः तदनभ्युपगमे चाश्रयासिद्धिः । स्मृत्यादेश्च धर्मित्वे सिद्धसाधनम्—इति ।

**न; अयथार्थहेतोर्ज्ञानस्य धर्मित्वे अविरोधात् ।**

(5) *Citsukhi* p. 74.

ननु—संप्रयोगो नाम किमिन्द्रियसंयोगादिविशेषः, किंवा सम्बन्धमात्रम् । नाद्यः, रूपादीनामनैकान्यात् । द्वितीये तु विशेषणासिद्धिः दृष्टान्ते साध्यविकल्पात् च । न ह्याध्यासिकसम्बन्धं विनास्माकं रूपं तदीध्यापरोक्षा । धीरूपत्वेच रजतादेर्भ्रान्तिं विनापि दर्शनप्रसङ्गः—इति ।

Sukhaprakāśa identifies this as taken from Gaṅgāpurī's work :

**गङ्गापुरीयमुपन्यस्यति दृष्टयितुम्—नन्विति** (p. 51.);

but Pratyakṣavarūpa says :

**यद्यत्र न्यायदीपावल्यां<sup>16</sup> दृष्टयितुं तदनुवदति** (p. 74.)

The corresponding portion in the *Ny. Rat. Dip.* (p. 75) reads :

16. Probably a mistake for the *Nyāyaratnadipāvali* of Ānandānubhava. The *Nyāyadipāvali* of Ānandabodha is an entirely different work,

किं च 'संप्रयोगमन्तरेण' इत्यत्र संप्रयोगः किं इन्द्रियसंप्रयोगादि विशेषः कश्चित्, किं वा सम्बन्धमात्रम् । आद्ये रूपादिनानैकान्तम् । तर्ह्यसंयुक्तमपरोक्षबुद्धिरूपं च वेद्यं सर्वमस्माकं धीरूपमिति चेन्न; संप्रयोगमन्तरेणेत्यस्य वैयर्थ्यापत्तेः । द्वितीये तु विशेषणामिद्विः दृष्टान्ते साध्यविकल्पात् च । न ह्यध्याससम्बन्धं विनास्माकं रूपं (रूप्यं ?) तद्विधापरोक्षा । तदेवं न रूप्यं धीरूपं बाध्यं चेत्यभ्युपेयम् ।

(6) *Citsukhi*, p. 77.

अथैतद्दोषपरिजिहीर्षया 'विमतं सदसद्विलक्षणं, दोषप्रयुक्तभानत्वात् भ्रान्तिसिद्धतादात्म्यवत्' इति प्रयुज्यते, तदप्यसत्; दृष्टान्तस्य साध्यविकल्पात् ।

Sukhaprakāśa identifies this in Gaṅgāpurī's work as is evident from his avatārikā :

**गङ्गापुरीयं प्रमाणमुपन्यस्य दूषयति—अथेति**

But Pratyakṣvarūpa traces the source as *Ny. Rat. Dip.*

अप्रसिद्धविशेषणतापरिहाराय अन्वयव्यतिरेक्यनुमानं न्यायरत्नदीपावलीस्थं शङ्कते—अथैतद्दोषेति । (p. 77.)

The relevant portion is found in the *Ny. Rat. Dip.* (p. 82).

विमतं सदसद्विलक्षणम्, दोषप्रयुक्तभानत्वात्, भ्रान्तिसिद्धतादात्म्यवत् ।

(7) *Citsukhi*, p. 81.

सत्त्वासत्त्वयोस्तु ख्यातिबाधप्रयोजकतायां लाघवमिति चेत्, मैवम् ।

Sukhaprakāśa gives the source as Gaṅgāpurī :

**गङ्गापुरीयं दूषणमुत्थाप्य दूषयति—ननु सत्त्वेत्यादिना (p. 55.)**

But Pratyakṣvarūpa gives it as *Ny. Rat. Dip.* :

नन्वबाध्यत्वे सत्त्वं प्रयोजकमस्तीकुर्वता सदैवलक्षण्यं बाध्यत्वे प्रयोजकं स्वीकर्तव्यम् । तथा च प्रयोजकगौरवं स्यात् । एवमितरत्रापि । मत्पक्षे तु असत्त्वं बाध्यत्वे प्रयोजकं सत्त्वं च प्रतीतौ इति लाघवम् इति न्यायरत्नदीपावलीयमाशङ्क्य तत्रापि व्यतिरेके असदैवलक्षण्यं अबाधे प्रयोजक-सदैवलक्षण्यं चाभाने प्रयोजकमिति गौरवं समानमित्याह । (p. 81.)

In the *Ny. Rat. Dip.* (p. 79) is found :

अत्राहुः केचित् । सदैवलक्षण्यादख्यानमिति मते गौरवम्, न तु तुच्छत्वादिति मते । एवं असद्विलक्षणं न बाध्यं इति मते गौरवं, न तु सदबाध्यमिति मते । अतो नानुपपन्नाऽनिर्वचनीयता ।

अत्राहापरः । हन्त । एवमस्मत्पक्ष एव ख्यातिबाधयोः उपपत्तिः लाघवात् । 'सत् ख्याति' इति लाघवम् । 'द्विअसलक्षणं ख्याति' इति गौरवम् । एवं 'असद्बाध्यम्' इति लाघवम्; 'सद्विलक्षणं बाध्यम्' इति गौरवम् ।

(8) *Citsukhi*, p. 86.

यत्तु केचिदुच्यते 'कार्यान्वयान्वयिनि' इत्यत्र किं कार्यं विशेषणमन्वयस्य किं बोधलक्षणं; नाद्यः etc.

Sukhaprakāśa traces this to Gaṅgāpurī :

कार्यान्वयान्वयीत्यस्मिन् प्रयोजके गङ्गापुरीयोक्तदूषणमनुभाषते—यत्त्विति । (p. 59.)

Pratyakṣvarūpa in the *Nayanaprasādinī* introduces the text with

अत्र (न्याय) रत्नदीपावलीकृतः प्रथमं प्रयोजकं दूषयां नभूतः । तदनुषङ्ग-यत्त्वित्यादिना (p. 86.)

thus evidently tracing the objection to *Rat. Dipāvalī* or the *Nya-Rat. Dipāvalī*.

The *Ny. Rat. Dip.* (p. 35) reads :

स्यान्मतं—कार्यान्वयान्विते पदानां शक्तिर्निश्चीयते । न च कार्ये तदसंभवः कार्यः, तदितरान्वय-  
स्योभयनिष्ठत्वात्—इति । न; कार्यान्वयस्य कार्येऽसंभवात् । तथा हि । किं कार्यं विशेषणमन्वयस्य किं  
बोपलक्षणम् ? नाद्यः, अन्वयस्य कार्यविशिष्टस्य कार्यान्वये सति कार्यस्य सम्बन्धद्वयप्रसङ्गात् । युगपच्च  
कार्यान्वययोः विशेषणता विशेष्यता चापयेत etc.

(9) *Citsukhī*, p. 108.

नापि तत्र प्रमाणम् । प्रकृष्टप्रकाश इति वाक्यार्थः चन्द्रप्रातिपदिकमात्रार्थः, तत्प्रश्नोत्तरार्थत्वात्  
यन्नैवं तन्नैवं यथा वाक्यान्तरार्थः इति व्यतिरेक्यनुमानमस्तीति चेत् ; मैवम्, विकल्पासहत्वात् ।  
Sukhaprakāśa says here thus :

**गङ्गापुरीयं प्रमाणमुपन्यस्य दूषयति—प्रकृष्टेति** (p. 71.)

whereas Pratyakṣavarūpa says :

**यदत्र न्यायरत्नदीपावल्यामनुमानमुक्तं तदनुवदति—**(p. 108.)

The text in the *Ny. Rat. Dip.* (pp. 65-66) correspond with this.

ननु सर्वत्र वाक्येषु पदान्तरासृष्ट एव पदान्तरार्थः प्रसिद्धः । अतः संसृष्टपदार्थो वाक्यार्थः ।  
न त्वेकरसं वस्तु संसृष्टम् । पदानि हि वाक्यम् । तेन संसृष्टपदार्थ एव वाक्यार्थो युक्तः । यद्यपि  
'प्रकृष्टप्रकाशचन्द्रः' इति वाक्यं चन्द्रस्वरूपमात्रप्रश्नोत्तरम्, तथापि न तस्याखण्डार्थता; प्रकर्षगुणवतः  
प्रकाशस्य चन्द्रत्वबोधकत्वात् । कथं गुणविशिष्टार्थं वाक्यं चन्द्रस्वरूपप्रश्नोत्तरं भवेत् ? गुणस्य चन्द्रा-  
भेदादिति ब्रूमः ।

(10) *Citsukhī*, pp. 116-17.

न च प्रामाण्यस्य स्वतस्त्वे मानमस्ति । प्रामाण्यं etc.

Sukhaprakāśa traces it to Gaṅgāpurī as evident from his avatārikā :

**गङ्गापुरीयप्रमाणमुपन्यस्यति—प्रामाण्यमिति** (p. 77.)

But Pratyakṣavarūpa says that it has been taken from the *Ny. Rat. Dipāvalī* :

**रत्नदीपावलीकृतां** ( कृतं in text ) **अनुमानमुद्गावयति—प्रामाण्यमिति**

(p. 116)

In the *Ny. Rat. Dipāvalī*, (p. 18) however, are found two syllogisms corres-  
ponding to the text in *Citsukhī*.

(a) प्रामाण्यस्य स्वतस्त्वे अनुमानम् । प्रामाण्यं (न?) ज्ञानहेतुमात्रजन्याश्रयम्, प्रामाण्येतरत्वे  
सति ज्ञानैकधर्मत्वात्, ज्ञानत्ववत् । दोषजन्यत्वेन व्यभिचारो मा भूदिति ज्ञानैकधर्मत्वमुक्तम् ।

(b) तथा प्रामाण्यमुक्तविधम्, अप्रामाण्येतरत्वे सति ज्ञानत्वन्यूनवृत्तित्वात्, प्रत्यक्षत्ववत् ।

(11) *Citsukhī*, p. 118.

ननु ज्ञानसाम्या एवानिरूपणात् तदतिरिक्तेत्वधीनत्वं दुर्ज्ञानत्वमिति चेत् etc.

Sukhaprakāśa traces this to Gaṅgāpurī :

**गङ्गापुरीयं दूषणमुपन्यस्यति निराकर्तुम्—नन्विति** (p. 78.)

but Pratyakṣavarūpa remains silent. No corresponding portion is traceable  
in the *Ny. Rat. Dipāvalī* also.

(12) *Citsukhi*, p. 119.

ननु प्रमा स्वतो ज्ञायते परनिरपेक्षोत्पत्तित्वात् ज्ञानवत् । तथा प्रामाण्यं स्वतो ज्ञायते, अप्रामा-  
ण्येतरत्वे सति ज्ञानैकधर्मत्वात् ज्ञानत्ववत् इत्यस्त्येवानुष्मन्मिति चेत् । नैवम् ।

Sukhaprakāśa points out Gaṅgāpurī as the object of Citsukha's criticism here :

**गङ्गापुरीयं प्रमाणमुपन्यस्यति—नन्विति (p. 79.)**

But Pratyakṣavarūpa says :

**रत्नदीपावलीयमनुमानमुद्भावयति—ननु प्रमेति (p. 119.)**

On p. 22 of the *Ny. Rat. Dip.* we have :

तस्मान्निष्प्रत्यङ् प्रमोत्पत्तेः स्वतस्त्वम् । तथा तज्ज्ञमिस्वतस्त्वेऽपि प्रयोगः । प्रमा स्वतो ज्ञापते  
परनिरपेक्षोत्पत्तित्वात्, ज्ञानवत् । तथा प्रामाण्यं स्वतो ज्ञायते, अप्रामाण्येतरत्वे सति ज्ञानैकधर्मत्वात्  
ज्ञानत्ववत् ।

Both these are taken up by Citsukha.

(13) *Citsukhi*, p. 120.

ननु नैवमनुमानमुदेति, धर्मिहेत्वोरसिद्धेः । etc.

Sukhaprakāśa characteristically refers to Gaṅgāpurī in his *avatārikā* :

**गङ्गापुरीयं प्रमाणमुपन्यस्यति—नन्विति (p. 79.)**

But Pratyakṣavarūpa mentions *Ny. Rat. Dip.* as the source.

**यदत्र रत्नदीपावल्यां दूषणमुक्तं तदनुवदति—नैवमिति । (p. 120.)**

The context in the *Ny. Rat. Dip.* is quite clear.

यदपि कुसुमाञ्जली प्रमाज्ञप्तिपरतस्त्वे मान्मुक्तम्—प्रामाण्यं परतो ज्ञायते, अनभ्यासवशात्  
सांशयिकत्वात्, अप्रामाण्यवत्—इति । विपक्षे च प्रामाण्यसंशयो न स्यादिति बाधः ज्ञाननिष्ठायाकादेव  
तन्निश्चय प्राप्तेः । तदपि वार्तेम् । धर्मिहेत्वोरसिद्धेः । आनुमानिक एव ते प्रामाण्यनिश्चयः । तन्निश्चयश्च  
तत्संशयपूर्वकः । अन्यथा सिषाधयिषाभावात् अनुमानासंभवात् । संशयश्च निश्चयपुरस्सरः प्रसिद्धः ।  
अतः प्रामाण्यसंशयनिश्चययोरन्योन्याश्रयत्वात् अनवस्थानाद्वा नैकमपि सिध्यति । (p. 16).

(14) *Citsukhi*, p. 131.

ननु कार्याभावावसेयकार्यप्रतिकूलभावा मन्त्रादयः शफेरपदवाय कारणाभवास्मा इच्छन्ते । अत  
एव मन्त्राद्यभावोऽपि कारणमिष्यते × × × × × उत्पत्तौ ह्यसौ वा अन्योन्याभवात्  
दुर्वारेति चेन्न । etc.

Sukhaprakāśa says that Citsukha is pressing in Gaṅgāpurī's view here.

**गङ्गापुरीयं दूषणमुपन्यस्यति—नन्विति (p. 87.)**

Pratyakṣavarūpa on the other hand identifies the source as *Ny. Rat. Dip.*

तस्मिन्मुदयनीयं अन्योन्याश्रयतापरिहारं परिजन्तु न्याय्यरत्नदीपावलीकृतः । तदनुवदति  
—नन्विति (p. 131.)

The *Ny. Rat. Dipāvali*, p. 21 reads :

न तु दोषभावे तदभावरूपगुणभावात् स्रमप्रवैक्यमेव प्रतिबन्धः । उक्तं हि 'प्रतिबन्धो  
विच्छेदधी' इति । न; अन्योन्याश्रयताप्रसङ्गात् । प्रतिबन्धापेक्षे हि तदभावाः कश्चम्; कारणवैक्यम्,  
तदभावाः प्रतिबन्ध इति ।



यदपि तव न स्यान्मतम् (?)—कार्यव्यतिरेकद्वारा हि कार्यप्रतिकूलता मन्तादेः कारणानिरेपेक्षावसीयते; कारणतापि निरेपेक्षेव अन्वयव्यतिरेकावसेया, इति कथमन्योन्याश्रयता। अपि च इयमुत्पत्तौ ज्ञातौ वा स्यात्। नाथः, असंभवात्। मन्त्रतदभावयोः अपरस्परहेतुत्वात्। नापि चरमः, अज्ञातयोरेव तयोः तथात्वात्—इति।

तदसत्। कार्याभावावसेयोऽपि हि प्रतिबन्धः शक्तिनिरपेक्षः त्वया कारणाभाव इष्यते। कारणं च तदभावरूपम्। अतो यद्यपि मन्त्रतदभावयोः न परस्परहेतुता तथापि तयोः प्रतिबन्धत्वकारणत्वयोः अन्योन्योपाधिकत्वात् उत्पत्तावन्योन्याश्रयता सुस्थितैव।

(15) *Citsukhi*, p. 132.

अस्तु तर्षामिरतीन्द्रियसामान्यवत् निष्क्रियाश्रयः etc.

Sukhaprakāśa remarks that Citsukha has in view the syllogism put forth by Gaṅgāpurī and that he is refuting the same.

इदानीं गङ्गापुरीयं प्रमाणं दूषयितुमुपन्यस्यति—अस्तु तर्हीति। (p. 87.)

But Pratyakṣvarūpa says that Citsukha is referring to the *Ny. Rat. Dipāvalī*:

न्यायरत्नदीपावलीरूपमनुमानमुद्भावयति—अस्तु तर्हीति।

The *Ny. Rat. Dip.* (p. 24) reads :

उच्यते। न तावच्छक्तौ प्रमाणासंभवः। तथा हि। अमिरतीन्द्रियसामान्यवन्निष्क्रियाश्रयः, कारणत्वात्, गुरुत्वाश्रयवत्। तेजोद्युष्टकमतीन्द्रियरूपस्य वायोश्चाधिकरणं सिद्धं, इत्यतीन्द्रियसामान्यवन्निष्क्रियेत्युक्तम्।

(16) *Citsukhi*, p. 381.

सदसद्विलक्षणमनिर्वचनीयमिति लक्षणाग्रीकारात्। ननु नेदं लक्षणम्। किंतु ज्ञाननिवर्त्यमनिर्वचनीयम्। etc.

Sukhaprakāśa understands this as referring to Gaṅgāpurī's view :

गङ्गापुरीयं मतमाह—नन्विति। (p. 244.)

But Pratyakṣvarūpa mentions the source of this syllogism as *Ny. Rat. Dipāvalī*

तत्र यदुक्तं न्यायरत्नदीपावलीकारैः तदुद्भावयति दूषयितुम्—ननु नेदमित्यादिना (p. 381)

The *Ny. Rat. Dip.* (p. 193), however, reads as follows :

नन्वसौ (i.e. अज्ञाननिवृत्तिः) सदादिविलक्षणा चेत्, कथं नानिर्वचनीया? सदादिवैलक्षण्यं हि अनिर्वचनीयलक्षणं त्वयेष्टम्। न; ज्ञाननिवर्त्यमनिर्वचनीयमिति तल्लक्षणाश्रयणात्। न चाज्ञाननिवृत्तिः ज्ञाननिवर्त्या, ज्ञानजन्यत्वात्।

Thus from the references to Gaṅgāpurī as found in the Commentaries on the *Citsukhi*, of both Sukhaprakāśa and Pratyakṣvarūpa, we are to know that whereas Pratyakṣvarūpa in many places gives the source as *Nyāyaratnadipāvalī*, Sukhaprakāśa mentions the name of Gaṅgāpurī invariably. As Sukhaprakāśa was the disciple of Citsukha directly, his references would seem more reliable. But the actual tracing of the references in the *Nyāyaratnadipāvalī*, as done above, shows beyond doubt that Pratyakṣvarūpa had access to the *Nyāyaratnadipāvalī* and that his evidence to Citsukha's source as *Ny. Rat. Dipāvalī* cannot be easily controverted. In the *Nayanaprasādinī*, however, Pratyakṣvarūpa does mention the name of Gaṅgāpurī directly;

so that there is every reason to think that Pratyakṣvarūpa was also aware of Gaṅgāpurī's work.

On the evidence of Sukhaprakāśa we may say that Gaṅgāpurī was the same person as the author of the *Ny. Rat. Dipāvalī*. But this is not correct. For previously in connection with the discussion of the authorship of the *Padārthatattvanirṇaya*, I mentioned that Ānandānubhava, disciple of Nārāyaṇa Jyotiś was its author and not Gaṅgāpurī. Gaṅgāpurī was only a commentator, a *bhāṣyakāra* on the *Padārthatattvanirṇaya*. The author of the *Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī* too, is Ānandānubhava, disciple of Nārāyaṇa Jyotiś as evident from the colophons to this work. Hence the identification of Gaṅgāpurī with Ānandānubhava or the author of the *Ny. Rat. Dipāvalī* is not sound. Further the fact that Pratyakṣvarūpa differentiates between Gaṅgāpurī and the author of the *Ny. Rat. Dip.* also runs counter to this identification.

Are we then to contradict the evidence of Sukhaprakāśa, direct pupil of Citsukha himself? No. Sukhaprakāśa nowhere wants us to identify Ānandānubhava with Gaṅgāpurī. He does not state anywhere that the author of the *Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī* is Gaṅgāpurī. But the fact that the syllogisms in *Citsukhī* mentioned by Pratyakṣvarūpa as referring to the *Nyāya Ratnadīpāvalī*, being traceable in that work, and Sukhaprakāśa's invariably tracing them to Gaṅgāpurī creates a difficulty in the actual position.

Perhaps Sukhaprakāśa refers only to the school of advaitins set up by Gaṅgāpurī when he mentions Gaṅgāpurīya. Gaṅgāpurī's *bhāṣya* on the *Padārthatattvanirṇaya* of Ānandānubhava is known. And *Ny. Rat. Dip.* being a work of Ānandānubhava, Pratyagrūpa's tracing the syllogisms to the *Ny. Rat. Dip.* can somehow be reconciled as mentioning the original source. But still the difficulty continues to exist, viz. how the earlier author, Sukhaprakāśa missed the original, *Ny. Rat. Dip.* At the present state of our information on Gaṅgāpurī, nothing more can be safely said, except that he flourished after Ānandānubhava and before Citsukha, between c. 1150—1200 A.D. and that he wrote a *bhāṣya* on Ānandānubhava's *Padārthatattvanirṇaya*. Whether he wrote anything elucidating the *Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī* also is not known. There is every reason to infer this fact from the characteristic references of Pratyagrūpa and Sukhaprakāśa. But it will be too hasty to conclude. If at all this conjecture is reasonable, let us hope that the labours of some research workers and hunters for rare manuscripts will bear fruit in discovering Gaṅgāpurī's commentary on the *Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī*. That he was an advaitin is clear from the copious references shown above.

# THE SAMBANDHA-VIVEKA OF BHAVADEVA BHATTA

*Critically edited for the first time with Introduction,  
English Translation, Index etc.*

By

SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI, Dacca.

## भवदेवीय संबन्धविवेकः

अथ भवदेवीय संबन्धविवेकः । तत्र मतुः —

असपिण्डा च या मातुरसगोत्रा च या पितुः ।

सा प्रशस्ता द्विजातीनां दारकर्मणि मैथुने ॥ १ ॥<sup>1</sup>

अस्यार्थः— न केवलं पितुरसपिण्डा मातुरसपिण्डा च; तथा न केवलं मातुरसगोत्रा पितुरसगोत्रा च या, सा द्विजातीनां ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यानां, दारकर्मणि दारकसंपादके कर्मणि विवाहे, मैथुने मिथुनसाध्यै यज्ञादौ, प्रशस्ता । मातृपदी पञ्चपौरुषी सपिण्डता, यदाह विष्णुः—

असगोत्रो यदि बीजी स्यात्तदा पाञ्चपौरुषी सपिण्डता, सगोत्रो यदि बीजी स्यात्तदा साप्तपौरुषी सपिण्डता<sup>2</sup> । तथा शङ्कल्लिखितौ—

सपिण्डता तु सर्वेषां गोत्रतः साप्तपौरुषी ।<sup>3</sup>

पिण्डोदकप्रदानं च शौचं चैव तदानुगम् ॥ २ ॥

सपिण्डता चासगोत्रे स्मृता वै पाञ्चपौरुषी ।

सपिण्डता च गोत्रैक्ये<sup>4</sup> भवेत्तु साप्तपौरुषी ॥ ३ ॥

तेन भिन्नगोत्रे पिण्डसंबन्धेऽपि न साप्तपौरुषी सपिण्डता, किंतु पाञ्चपौरुषी । सपिण्डता च पिण्डसंप्रदानत्वेन पिण्डदातृत्वेन पिण्डदातृपरंपरात्वेन योग्यत्वेन च बोद्धव्या<sup>5</sup> । तथाहि यं प्रतियोगिनं कृत्वा निरूप्यते तस्य पितृप्रभृतयः षड्पुरुषाः पिण्डलेपसंप्रदानत्वेन सपिण्डाः, स्वयं च तेषां दातृत्वेन । एवं च मातामहादयस्त्रयः, स्वयं च दाता । येभ्य एते पिण्डान् ददति तेभ्यस्तेऽपीति पंखपरात्वेन । तद्वितरे चैव बीजजाता योग्यत्वेन सपिण्डाः । योग्यत्वं चेद्वासगोत्रसगोत्रबीजि षष्ठाष्टमपूर्वकत्वम् । अथवा सपिण्डत्वमेकशरीरत्वं, समान एकः पिण्डो येषामिति श्रुत्यस्या । तच्च साक्षात् परंपरया चैकजातत्वादेव भवति, “आत्मा जज्ञे आत्मन ” इति श्रुतेः । एवं “वाट्कौशिकं शरीरं; त्रीणि पितृतन्त्रीणि

1. Manu III. (5 N. S. Press Ed.) Ascribed by Raghunandana to Manu and Sātātapa jointly (Smṛtitantra II, 106) cannot be traced in the Vaṅgavāsī Ed. of the Sātātapa Saṃhitā.

2. Cannot be traced in the Vaṅgavāsī Ed. of the Viṣṇu Saṃhitā.

3. This and the following verse cannot be traced either in the Saṃkha or Likhila Saṃhitas [Vaṅgavāsī Ed.].

4. MS. गोत्रैक्ये (?)

5. Ms. संप्रदानेन (?) for संप्रदानत्वेन which seems to yield a better sense. MS. सयोग्यत्वेन (?) for योग्यत्वेन,

मातुतः, अस्मिन्नामुमज्जानः पितुतः त्वद्मांसवधिराणि मातुतः<sup>96</sup> इति । एतेन मातुरित्यसगोत्रबीजिप्राप्त्यु-  
पलक्षणार्थं, पितुरिति सगोत्रबीजिप्राप्त्युपलक्षणार्थमित्युक्तं भवति । तेन या सगोत्रैवात्मनः पित्रादिभ्यः  
षड्भ्यः पुक्वेभ्यः परंपराजाता सती सप्तमात् परा न भवति सा न विवाह्या । या तु मातामहप्रमातामहा  
वृद्धप्रमातामहेभ्यो, मातुर्मातामहप्रमातामहाभ्यां, मातामहमातामहोर्मातःमहात्, पितुर्मातामहप्रमातामहा-  
भ्यां, पितामहपितामहोर्मातामहाच्च परंपराजाता सती पञ्चमात् परा न भवति, सा न विवाह्या । तत्र पितुतो  
मातुत इति न्यायेक्षया मातृपितृग्रहणं, न तु कन्यापेक्षया

मातुतः पञ्चमीं हित्वा पितृपक्षाच्च सप्तमीम् ।

गृहस्थ उद्वहेद् भार्या न्यायेन विधिना नृप ॥ ४ ॥

इत्युद्वाहकर्तुः प्रसङ्गात् । तदपेक्षया मातृपितृसंबन्धस्य युक्तत्वात् । मनुनापि “ सा प्रशस्ता  
द्विजातीनां ” इत्युक्तत्वात् । सप्तमपञ्चमगणना च कन्यापेक्षया, न तु वरपेक्षया, सर्वत्र सप्तमीं पञ्चमींमिति  
जीलिङ्गातिदेशात् । अत्र पितृमातृपक्षेऽपि पात्रपौरुष्येव सपिण्डता, न तु पितृसंबन्धमात्रेण साप्तपौरुषी-  
त्यवधेयम् । “ गोत्रक्ये साप्तपौरुषी सपिण्डता, भिन्नगोत्रात् पञ्चपुरुषव्यापिनो ” इति गोतमस्मरणात् ।  
तदुक्तं प्राक् । किंच, यत्र पितृमातृसपिण्डा षष्ठी विवाहयोग्या सा तत्पुत्रस्य न स्यात्, सप्तमात् पर-  
त्वाभावादिति महद् वैषम्यं स्यात् । केचित्तु,

मातुतः पञ्चमीं चैव पितृपक्षाच्च सप्तमीम् ।

गृहस्थ उद्वहेद् भार्या न्यायेन विधिना नृप ॥ ५ ॥<sup>98</sup>

इति विष्णुपुराणवचनं हित्वेति परिहृत्य स्थितां चेति हित्वा गत्वोत्थायेति व्याख्याय,

उद्वहेत् पितृमात्रोस्तु सप्तमीं पञ्चमीं तथा ॥ ६ ॥<sup>99</sup>

इति मार्कण्डेयपुराणवचनाच्च पञ्चम्याः सप्तम्याश्च कन्याया अपि विवाहमाहुस्तस्मात्तमनोहरं;

पञ्चमात् सप्तमाद्धर्द्ध मातुतः पितृतस्तथा ॥ ७ ॥<sup>100</sup>

इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनविरोधात् ।

मातृतस्त्वापञ्चमात् पितृतस्त्वासप्तमात् ॥ ८ ॥

इति विष्णुपुराणवचनाच्च<sup>11</sup> । यत्तु पैठीनसिवचनम्

6. पद्मकौशिकं... मातुतः— these lines are attributed to गमोपनिषत् by Raghunandana [See *Smṛtītattva*, Vol. II, p. 398—J. VIDYASAGAR, Calcutta, 1895].

7. भिन्नगोत्रात्... व्यापिनो —This line is not found in the *Gotama-dharmasūtra* (Ānandāśrama Series No. 61).

8. Vaṅgavāsī Ed. of *Viṣṇu purāṇa* modifies thus सप्तमोपितृपक्षाच्चमातृपक्षाच्च पञ्चमम् । गृहस्थस्तुद्वहेत् कन्या न्यायेन विधिना नृप ॥ (Ch. X, 23b—p. 128). The Dacca University MSS. of Śūlapāṇi's *Sambandha-viveka* accept the reading of the Purāṇa with उद्वहेत् द्विजः for गृहस्थस्तुद्वहेत् ।

9. Vaṅgavāsī Ed. of *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Ch. XXXIV, 78(a), p. 64. च for तु.

10. *Yājñavalkya Saṃhitā* I, 3, 53(b), N. S. Press Ed., 1926 (p. 15). This line is attributed by Raghunandana to Nārada with कृमात् for तथा (*Smṛtītattva*, II p. 108). Ed. J. VIDYASAGAR.

11. Raghunandana ascribes I. 47 to *Viṣṇu-sūtra* (*Smṛtītattva*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 108). But the line is found in the Vaṅgavāsī Ed. of *Viṣṇu Saṃhitā* (p. 16), Ch. XXIV, 10.

असमानार्थेयीं वरयेत् पञ्च मातुतः परिहरेत् सप्त पितृतस्त्रीन् मातुतः पञ्च पितृतो वा  
इति, तदासुरादिविवाहविषयं वा । तथा च नारदः—

सप्तमे पञ्चमे वापि येषां वैवाहिकी क्रिया ।

ते च संतानिनः सर्वे पतिताः शूद्रतां गताः ॥ ९ ॥<sup>12</sup>

इति । मार्कण्डेयपुराणवचनं तु परिहृत्येति शेषो बोद्धव्यः । केचित्तु मातुरपि सपिण्डा<sup>13</sup>  
विवाहयन्ति । तत्र<sup>13a</sup> च व्यासः—

सगोत्रां मातुरप्येके नेच्छन्त्युद्वाहकर्मणि ।

जन्मनाम्नोरविज्ञाने उद्वहेदशङ्कितः ॥ १० ॥<sup>14</sup>

इति । तत्तु नेह व्यवहाराम्, देशभेदव्यवस्थितत्वात् । समानप्रवरा न विवाहा, असमानार्थगोत्रजाम्<sup>15</sup>  
इति वचनात् ।

परिणीय सगोत्रां तु समानप्रवरां तथा ।

त्यागं कृत्वा ततस्तस्यास्तत्र चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥ ११ ॥<sup>16</sup>

इति वचनान् । सापत्न्यमातुलकन्यापि न विवाहा, तदाह सुमन्तुः—

सापत्न्यमातुलसुता भगिन्यो धर्मतो मताः ।

पुरुषैस्ता न विवाहा इति ब्रह्मानुशासनम् ॥ १२ ॥

पितुर्गोऽहेपि या कन्या रजः पश्यत्यसंस्कृता ।

भ्रूणहत्या पितुस्तस्याः सा कन्या वृषली मता ॥ १३ ॥

न तां विवाहयेत् कन्यां लोभान्मोहाच्च मानवः ।

अथाद्येयमपाक्येयं तं विद्यात् वृषलीपतिम् ॥ १४ ॥<sup>17</sup>

विवाहकाले रजोदर्शने यथा कर्तव्यं तद्दर्शयति —

विवाहकाले वितते होमकर्मण्युपस्थिते ।

कन्यका ऋतुमागच्छेत् कथं कुर्वन्ति याज्ञिकाः ॥ १५ ॥

आपयित्वा ततः कन्यामर्चयित्वा यथाविधि ।

12. Raghunandana ascribes the verse to Nārada.

13. MS. सगोत्रां (?) for सपिण्डां. Vyāsa's verse refers to सगोत्रा and not सपिण्डा.

13a Ms. तस्य (?) for तत्र.

14. Not found in the Vaṅgavāsī Ed. of Vyāsa Saṃhitā [ = विज्ञानेऽप्युद्वहेत्..... is the more accepted reading.]

15. Yājñavalkya I, III, 53a—latter portion.

16. Medhātithi and Kullūka under Manu III, 5 quote this verse with कृत्वा तस्याः समुत्सर्गं द्विजः (Kullūka transpose कृत्वा and तस्याः) for त्यागं...तत्र.

17. These lines are ascribed by Raghunandana jointly to Atri and Kāśyapa (Smṛti-tattva, op. cit., II, p. 124) with these variations—च for अपि; स्मृता for मता; यस्तु तां वरयेत् कन्यां ब्राह्मणो ज्ञानदुर्बलः for l. 68.

अञ्जलिमाहुतिं कृत्वा ततस्तन्त्रं प्रवर्तयेत् ॥ १६ ॥<sup>18</sup>  
 ओं स उहोति युञ्जानः प्रथं साम इत्यादिमन्त्रेणाहुतीर्मन्त्रज्ञाः ।<sup>19</sup>  
 पिता पितामहो भ्राता सकुल्यो जननी तथा ।  
 कन्याप्रदः पूर्वनाशे प्रकृतिस्थः परः परः । १७ ॥<sup>20</sup>  
 हस्तोदकविवाहे च प्रपितामहपूर्वकम् ।  
 वाक्यमुच्चारयेद्धीमानन्यत्र पितृपूर्वकम् ॥ १८ ॥<sup>21</sup>

तथा, एकमातृकयोर्मध्ये पुत्रयोर्द्विजसत्तम ।  
 अकृतोद्ग्रहने ज्येष्ठे कनिष्ठं न विवाहयेत् ॥ १९ ॥  
 परिवृत्तिस्तु तज्ज्यायान् कनीयान् परिवेदकः ।  
 परिवृत्तिः परिवेत्ता यया तु परिविद्यते ।<sup>22</sup>  
 सर्वे ते नरकं यान्ति दातृयाजकपथमाः ॥ २० ॥  
 संन्यासिनि महारोगयुक्ते दूरप्रवासिनि ।  
 ऋषिबे महापातकिनि न दोषः परिवेदने ॥ २१ ॥  
 तथा एकमातृकयोर्मध्ये कन्ययोर्बिप्रसत्तम ।  
 अनुदायां तु ज्येष्ठायां कनिष्ठां न विवाहयेत् ॥ २२ ॥  
 परित्यज्य तु तां कन्यां प्राजापत्यं समाचरेत् ।  
 परित्यक्ता तु सा पोष्या योजनाच्छादनेन च ॥ २३ ॥  
 सर्वतः प्राङ्मुखो दाता ग्रहीता च उदङ्मुखः ।  
 एष एव विधिर्दृष्टो विवाहे च व्यतिक्रमः ॥ २४ ॥<sup>23</sup>

व्यतिक्रम इति प्रत्यङ्मुखः । तदुक्तम् —

प्राङ्मुखायामिहूपाय वराय शुचिसन्निधा ।  
 प्रत्यङ्मुखस्तु दाता वै कन्यां दद्यात् सुलक्षणमा ॥ २५ ॥<sup>24</sup>

18. Ascribed to *Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya* in *Smṛti-tattva*, II, p. 146 with the following modifications :— विवाहे वितते तत्र होमकालउपस्थिते for l. 71.

कन्याया ऋतुरागच्छेत् for कन्यका...मागच्छेत् l. 72. तु तां for ततः l. 73; हुत्वाज्यं चैवलाणां for अञ्जली...कृत्वा l. 74 MS. प्रवर्तते for प्रवर्तयेत्

19. MS. समे ( ) for साम.

20. *Yājñavalkya* I, III, 63 (N. S. P. Ed.).

21. Raghunandana (in *Smṛti-tattva*, op. cit., II, p. 145) ascribes the verse to धनंजयकृतसंबन्धविवेक and modifies the lines thus :— नान्दीमुखे for हस्तोदक; विद्वान् for धीमान्

19. MS. परिवेत्ता for परिवेत्ता.

23. Raghunandana ascribes the verse to दानधर्मोत्तर and reads सर्वत्र for सर्वतः दान for एष, तु विपर्ययः for च व्यतिक्रमः *Smṛti-tattva*, op. cit. II, p. 143.

24. Raghunandana ascribes the lines to Śaṅkha and reads दद्यात् प्रत्यङ्मुखः कन्यां धनेलघनसंयुते for l. 95.—Ibid. The lines, however, cannot be traced in the *Vaṅgavāsi* Ed. of the *Saṅkha-Saṃhitā*.

सुलक्षणां शोभनरक्षणम् ।

इति बालवडमीभुजंगश्रीभवदेवभट्टविरचितः संबन्धविवेकः समाप्तः ॥

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\* For modifications in readings adopted by Raghunandana see footnotes under respective verses in the *Sambandha-Viveka*.

## THE SAMBANDHĀ-VIVEKA OF BHAVADEVĀ BHATTA

(Translation.)

Now (begins the *Sambandha-viveka* of Bhavadeva. There (says) Manu—  
Verse 1.

(A girl) who is not a *Sapindā* of (one's) mother,<sup>1</sup> nor a *Sagotrā* of (one's) father, is the most suited for (the purpose of) the marriage of the twice-born, and for (religious) duties to be performed by the couple.

Its meaning is :—(A girl who is) an *Asapindā* not only of the father, but also of the mother, likewise an *Asagotrā* not only of the mother, but also of the father, is commended for *Dāra*karma, that is to say, marriage, which causes wifehood, of the twice-born, viz., the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Kṣatriyas*, and the *Vaiśyas*, and also for *Maithuna*, i.e., such sacrifices etc. as are to be performed by the couple (i.e. husband and wife) together. On the mother's side *Sapindatā* is up to the fifth generation as *Viṣṇu* declares :

If the *Bijin* (propositus) be of a direct *Gotra* then *Sapindatā* extends to the fifth generation, if he be of the same *Gotra* then *Sapindatā* extends to the seventh. Thus *Saṅkha* and *Likhita* (declare) :—

Verse 2.

Among all, *Sapindatā* extends to the seventh generation within (persons of the same) *Gotra*, and the offering of cakes and water, as well as purity, follows accordingly.

Verse 3.

*Sapindatā* is recognised up to the fifth degree between (persons of) different *Gotras* and to the seventh within the same.

Hence, *Sapindatā* is up to the fifth generation, and not to the seventh, between (persons of) different *Gotras*, even though there may be connection of *Pinḍa*<sup>2</sup> (between the latter). *Sapindatā* again, should be understood (as being caused) by the fact of one's being the object of the gift of the *Pinḍa*-offering,<sup>3</sup> of one's being the giver of the *Pinḍa*, by being in a successive series of givers of *Pinḍa*, and also by the fitness (for partaking of or offering *Pinḍa*). Thus the six ancestors beginning with the father of the person from whom (*Sapindatā*) is determined are *Sapinḍas* by being the object of the gift of *Pinḍa* (or) *Lepa*<sup>4</sup> (as the case may be), (the person) himself being the giver (of the offering) to them. Thus also the three (generations) beginning with the maternal grand-father, as well as the giver himself. Those also to whom these (above persons) offer *Pinḍa*, they are also (*Sapinḍas*) from them; and this is by the fact of succession. In addition to this, those descended from the *Bijin* are *Sapinḍas* according to (their) fitness. Fitness, however, is here (in the sense of) being within the sixth and the eighth<sup>5</sup> generation from the *Bijin* (both upwards and downwards) in different and same

1. That is to say, "maternal grand-father". Cp. *Smṛti-tatva* II, 108. In the following pages "mother" is used in this sense except in verse 17 below.

2. The *Pinḍa* is a lump of rice offered to the *Pitṛs* at the obsequial ceremony or *Śrāddha*; it is thus a symbol of relationship between relatives called *Sapinḍas* or kinsmen connected by the offering.

3. *पिण्डसंप्रदानत्वेन*—For this sense of *Sampradāna* Cp. *दीयते यस्मै ग्रहणाय* (इति दानम्) —*Smṛti-tatva* II, 106.

4. The remnant of food-offering sticking to the hand after offering funeral oblations to the first three ancestors, these wipings being offered to the three ancestors after the great-grandfather (i.e. paternal ancestors to the 4th, 5th, and 6th degrees).

5. The "sixth" and "eighth" are exclusive limits.



Gotras respectively. Or, Sapiṇḍatva (is) having the same body, by the etymology viz., those who have Samāna Piṇḍa or the same body. That, again, happens by the origin (being traced) from one (person) either directly or in succession, by the Śruti "Of the self was the self born." Thus it is said: "the body (of a man) is six-sheathed—three (are derived) from the father, and three from the mother. Bones, nerves, (and) marrow (are derived) from the father; skin, flesh (and) blood from the mother". Hence, "of the mother" is to indicate the inclusion of the Bijin of the different Gotra; "of the father" is to imply the inclusion of the Bijin of the same Gotra. Therefore, a girl of the same Gotra who, being lineally descended from one's six ancestors from the father, is not beyond the seventh degree is not marriageable. She who, being descended from (one's) maternal grand-father, maternal great grand-father, or maternal great great grand-father, from the maternal grand-father or great grand-father of the mother, from the maternal grand-father of the maternal grand-father or of the maternal grand-mother, from the maternal grand-father or great grand-father of the father, and from the maternal grand-father of the paternal grand-father or of the paternal grand-mother, but is not beyond the fifth degree (in descent) is not marriageable. Here (in the expressions) "from the father" (and) "from the mother", 'father' and 'mother' are to be taken as used with respect to the bridegroom but not to the bride. Because:

*Verse 4.*

O King, the house-holder, according to the proper rule, should accept as wife a girl after discarding the fifth (i.e., girls up to the fifth degree in descent) from the mother<sup>6</sup> and the seventh (i.e., girls up to the seventh degree in descent) from the paternal line (i.e., any one of the paternal ancestors). This (text) relates to the agent (i.e., bridegroom as opposed to the object, viz., bride) of marriage. It is proper that the relationship of mother and father is applicable with respect to him. Manu too declares "She is the most suited for the twice-born", etc. The counting of the 'seventh' and the 'fifth' is with respect to the bride but not to the bridegroom, because everywhere the expressions 'seventh' and the 'fifth' are indicated in the feminine gender. Here, even on the father's maternal side, Sapiṇḍatā is up to the fifth<sup>7</sup> generation, but it is not to be understood up to the seventh generation merely on account of relationship with father; (this is) because of Gotama's Smṛti text (that) "Sapiṇḍatā is up to the seventh generation within the same Gotra and extends up to the fifth within different (Gotras)." This has been said already. Moreover, were the sixth maternal Sapiṇḍā (i.e., a girl descended from the sixth maternal ancestor) of the father is fit to be married (by the father), she is not so by his son owing to her not being beyond the seventh (generation), as this would involve a great inconsistency. Some hold (valid) the marriage even of the fifth and the seventh girl<sup>8</sup> after having explained the following text of the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* by assuming (in the verse the word) 'Gatvā' (i.e., having got) and rejecting the (inclusion) of (the word) 'Hitvā' which means a girl that remains after excluding:—

*Verse 5.*

The house-holder, according to the proper rule, should accept as wife the fifth (girl) from the mother and the seventh (girl) from the father.

They hold valid the marriage even of the fifth and seventh girl also on account of the text of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, viz.,

6. That is, from any one of maternal ancestors.

7. This is probably Sapiṇḍatā in the general sense according to Bhavadēva, because he himself excludes only three maternal ancestors above, so that he seems to recognise Traipuruṣa Sapiṇḍya in the maternal line for purposes of marriage.

8. Girls in the fifth or in the seventh degree.

## Verse 6.

(One) should marry the seventh and the fifth from the father and the mother respectively.

This is not very satisfactory<sup>9</sup> because of (its) contradiction with the text of Yājñavalkya,

## Verse 7.

(One should marry) beyond the fifth and the seventh from the mother and father respectively,

and also (not satisfactory) because of (the presence of) the text of Viṣṇu-purāṇa.

(Prohibition applies) up to (i.e., including) the fifth from the mother and the seventh from the father.

The declaration of Paiṭhīnasi that "(One) should marry a girl of different Gotra after excluding five<sup>10</sup> from the mother and seven from the father, or three from the mother and five from the father" this perhaps applies to the (forms of) marriage beginning with the Āśura. Thus also Nārada.

## Verse 9.

All those whose marriage takes place (with a girl) within the seventh or the fifth (degree) become degraded and reduced to the status of Śūdras, along with their offspring.

The word 'excluding' is, however, to be taken as understood in the text of the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa. Some, however, would make (one) marry a maternal Sapinda.<sup>11</sup> Regarding that Vyāsa declares :

## Verse 10.

In marriage some (authorities) do not recommend even a girl of the same Gotra as of (one's) mother. One may, however, marry, without any hesitation, (such a girl) if the birth and the name (of the girl's ancestors) are unknown.

That, however, is not customary here (in this land) because it has been ordained for a different land.

A girl of the same Pravara (as of one's own) is not marriageable by the text "one should marry a girl of a different Gotra and Pravara", etc. (and also) by the text,

## Verse 11.

Having married a girl of the same Gotra and Pravara, one should relinquish that wife, and for that (offence) should observe the vow of Cāndrāyana.

The daughter of the step-mother's brother is also not fit to be married. Sumantu declares thus :

## Verse 18.

The daughters of the step-mother's brother are properly sisters, and they are not fit to be married by men--this is the injunction of the Creator (Brahmā).

## Verse 13.

The girl, who gets her (first) monthly impurity at her father's house before (her) marriage, is known as a Śūdrā (Vṛṣālī), and her father commits (the sin of) feticide.

## Verse 14.

A man should not marry such a girl out of greed or infatuation. Consider the husband of (such a) Śūdrā as a man not fit to be invited to Śrāddhas and to dine with.

9. The author's tone here does not seem to be of condemnation, but one of mere dislike.

10. Here "five" etc. indicates the degrees of the girl's descent.

11. The proper word here ought to be Sagotrā, because the text of Vyāsa that follows refers to Sagotrā and not Sapindā.

(The following texts) show what should be done at the first appearance of the girl's menstruation during (the ceremony of) marriage :

*Verse 15.*

What should the sacrificing priests do if a girl gets her (first) monthly impurity when the ceremony of marriage is in progress and the act of (offering) oblation is due?

*Verse 16.*

(They) should resume the ceremony after bathing the girl, properly worshipping and offering oblations measuring an *Añjali*.

The persons versed in Mantras (i.e. priests) (offer) oblation by the incantation, *ॐ स जुहोति युजानः प्रथं साम*, etc.

*Verse 17.*

Father, grand-father, brother, a paternal relation, and mother --(of these) each succeeding one, who is of sound mind, is (fit to be) the giver away of a girl (in marriage) in the absence of each preceding one.

*Verse 18.*

In the ceremony of marriage (requiring) water (to be held) in the hand, the wise should make the declaration (beginning) with the (name of) the grand-father<sup>12</sup> (both of the bride and of the groom) ; elsewhere the declaration may be made (beginning) with (the name of) the father.

*Verses 19-21.*

O the best among the twice-born, of two sons of the same mother (i.e., uterine brothers), one should not marry the younger when the elder is yet unmarried. The elder brother of that (i.e. such a married man) is (known as) "Parivitti" (the superseded), the younger (as) "Parivedaka" (the one superseding). The "Parivitti", "Parivetr" and the one by (means of) whom the supersession is effected (i.e. the girl married by the Parivetr), (as well as) the give (of the girl in such a case) along with the priest, all five of them are doomed to perdition. There is, however, no sin in supersession with respect to the (elder brother who may be a) mendicant, afflicted with a grievous malady,<sup>13</sup> resident in a remote foreign land, impotent, or a great sinner.

So (also) :

*Verses 22-24.*

O the best among Brāhmaṇas, of two girls having the same mother, one should not marry away the younger when the elder is yet unmarried. One should observe the vow of "Prājāpatya" after relinquishing that (younger) girl (if married). She, being relinquished is to be maintained with food and garments. Everywhere the donor faces east, and the recipient north. This rule is universally found, but there is deviation in marriage. "Deviation" means "facing west." It is said.

*Verse 26.*

In presence of fire, the giver (of a girl), facing west, should give away (in marriage) the fortunate girl to the handsome bridegroom, facing east.

The expression "Fortunate" (means) "having auspicious signs".

Here ends the *Sambandha-viveka* composed by Śrī Bhavadeva-bhaṭṭa, the lover of Bālavalabhi.

12. For example अमुकस्य प्रपिताय, अमुकस्य पीत्राय, अमुकस्य पुत्राय अमुकस्य प्रपौत्रौ etc. (See *Smṛti-tattva* II, 146).

13. Mahārōga - eight in number, Cp.

उन्मादो राजवक्ष्मा च श्वासस्तग्दोष एव च । मधुमेहश्चाभरी च तथोदरधगन्दरीय ॥

Also see *Suddhi-tattva*, p. 239 (Vaṅgavasi Ed. 1332 B.S.) for an enumeration of eight Mahārōgas,

## NOTES OF THE MONTH

Indology has suffered during the last two years in demise of its eminent votaries like Dr. SUKTHANKAR, PROF. LÜDERS, M. M. Prof. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, M. M. Dr. Ganganath JHA and others but the work done by them has become immortal as will be seen by the schemes started in this country to commemorate the services of some of them to this sacred cause of the advancement of knowledge. Some months ago we published an appeal regarding the Dr. Ganganath Jha Institute, now founded at Allahabad with a Journal of its own, of which the inaugural issue has already appeared. We have great pleasure in publishing elsewhere in the present issue of the *New Indian Antiquary* an appeal regarding the proposed *Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute* on the model of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute of Poona and the Ganganath Jha Institute of Allahabad. In endorsing this appeal whole-heartedly we feel confident that lovers of learning all over India and outside will contribute their mite towards the realisation of this project designed to do honour to the memory of an eminent Sanskrit scholar who, by thought, word and deed promoted the cause of Sanskrit learning in an exemplary manner and thus brought into being a school of research members of which are now carrying on valuable work in and outside Madras.

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### THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI MEMORIAL

#### AN APPEAL

The immense services of the late Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri to the cause of Sanskrit learning and education are very well known. He was a profound scholar in all the Sastras and a *litterateur* of rare excellence. He combined the depth of knowledge of the old style of learning with the width and critical outlook of the modern scholar in a remarkable measure. First as Principal of the Sanskrit Colleges in Mylapore and Trivadi, and then as Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Presidency College, Madras, he played for many years the most decisive part in the designing and the working of the courses of study in Sanskrit, and Indian languages in general, in the University of Madras. He started the Samskrita Academy in 1926 in collaboration with Sri V. V. Srinivasa Ayyangar and others, and the *Journal of Oriental Research* in 1927 with Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar as the President of the Executive Committee and himself as the Chief Editor; and as the Curator of Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, he organised an intensive campaign of manuscript collection and got together what is to-day one of the finest collections in the world, of which the province is rightly proud to be the owner. During the thirty years of his work as Professor, he trained a number of eminent panditas and young men in the critical methods of the study of Sanskrit works, and brought into being a school of research the members of which are now carrying on research work in the several institutions in and outside Madras. He planned the revision and amplification of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Sanskrit Manuscripts and was Chief Editor of this work for some years. His work as member of the various academic bodies in the Universities of India and in the University of Madras in particular, was always characterised by a thoroughness and high academic perfection which earned for him the deepest respect of his colleagues.

The Public meetings held in the city and elsewhere when the news of his passing away was reported last September and the speeches that were delivered by many

scholars and publicists on those occasions gave clear proof of the high esteem in which his work was held and the love and affection his personal qualities evoked.

At the last All India Oriental Conference held at Benares (December 31, 1943 and January 1 and 2, 1944), the President of the Conference, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, himself a great Sanskritist, made an eloquent appeal for starting a Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute at Madras on the model of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute at Poona, and the new Ganganath Jha Institute at Allahabad. Such an Institute would be a fitting memorial to the great Professor and it could take under its protecting wings the Samskrita Academy and the Journal of Oriental Research that were so dear to the Professor during his lifetime, undertake the publication of the unpublished works of the Professor, and continue the useful work of research started by him.

Liberal contributions are solicited towards the realisation of this project which would require a lakh of Rupees as a minimum, and they may be kindly sent to Sri Rao Bahadur K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Advocate, 6 North Mada Street, Mylapore.

The Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri,  
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The Editors have pleasure in publishing below the following announcement.

## INDIAN CULTURE ESSAY COMPETITION

THE BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN invites original essays on any aspect of Bharatiya Samskriti (Indian Culture) written in Sanskrit, Hindi or English for the annual Essay Competitions which have been started from last year. This year six gold medals (each of the value of Rs. 150) and six silver medals (each of the value of Rs. 25) have been donated for the purpose. One gold medal and one silver medal will be awarded to the best and second best essays respectively received under each of the groups mentioned below. The branches of study given below in brackets are neither exhaustive divisions of the groups nor topics for essays in themselves, but are intended only to give a general idea of each group to a layman.

- (1) Religion & Philosophy (Buddhistic, Jaina ; Nyaya-Vaisheshika, Samkhya-Yoga, Vedanta, Mimamsa, Vyakarana etc.)
- (2) Art and Architecture (Brahmanical, Buddhist, Jaina etc.)
- (3) Languages, Literature (Sanskrita, Prakrita, Apabhramsha, Modern Indian Vernaculars, Dravidian etc.), Linguistics and Literary Criticism.
- (4) History (Political).
- (5) Social and Economic order.
- (6) One gold and one silver medal have been specially donated for the best and next best essays on 'Bhagavad Gita and Life'.

## CONDITIONS

1. The essays must be submitted by the end of July 1944.
2. Each essay must cover approximately 150 pages of foolscap sheets typed in double spacing (single side only).
3. The copyright of the gold medal essays will vest in the Bhavan subject to minor privileges to the authors.
4. The manuscript which should have temporary binding must bear the nom-de-plume of the contributor on the cover page and strict care should be taken to avoid disclosing the identity of the contributor. A sealed envelope containing a card with the name and full address of the competitor as well as his nom-de-plume and bearing the nom-de-plume alone on the outside should be sent along with the essay.
5. Each contributor is allowed to choose the subject he prefers.
6. The decision of the judges selected by the Bhavan will be final.
7. Though every care will be taken of the Mss. no responsibility attaches to the Bhavan in respect of them and authors are advised to keep duplicate copies with them.

*Director,*  
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## DETAILS REGARDING 1943 ESSAY COMPETITIONS

Name of Prize-winner	Medal	Name of Essay	Remarks
Dr. A. D. PUSALKER (Bombay)	Gold	Indus Valley Civilization.	In the press
Shri P. NAGARAJA RAO (Benares Hindu University)	Silver	The Schools of Vedanta.	Published.
Shri T. K. SHIBRURKAR (Benares)	Silver	Constructive Activities & Creative Tendencies of Indian Culture.	
Shri V. LAKSHMINARAYANA (Guntur)	Silver	Some aspects of Ancient Indian Culture as reflected in Kalidasa's works.	
Shri N. M. BILLIMORIA (Karachi)	Silver	Panis in the Rig Veda & the Script of Mohenjo Daro and Easter Island.	

*Judges :*

1. Shri N. C. Mehta, B.A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-Law, I.C.S., Simla.
2. Mm. Anantakrishna Sastri of the Calcutta University.
3. Prof. H. D. Velankar, M.A., of Wilson College, Bombay.

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN invites applications from students for admission in the Bhavan as (i) Research Fellows for Ph.D., and M.Ed., (ii) Post-graduate Scholars for M.A., in Sanskrit, Ardhamagadhi, Gujarati, Ancient Indian Culture and Education and (iii) free students for Shastric studies and Oriental Title Examinations. A few undergraduates may also be admitted provided they want to specialise in Sanskrit. Non-residential students for post-graduate studies are also admitted. Research Fellowships are of the value of Rs. 50/- (or Rs. 30/ and free boarding and lodging) and Research Scholarships of Rs. 15/- and free boarding and lodging. For further details and application forms write to the Registrar, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 33-35, Harvey Road, Bombay-7 enclosing stamps for two annas. Applications must reach the Registrar before the 15th June, 1944.

# STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF INDIAN PLANTS — THE MAHĀŚĀLĪ VARIETY OF RICE IN MAGADHA (Between A.D. 600 and 1100)

By

P. K. GODE, Poona.

In the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*<sup>1</sup> of Vāgbhaṭa II there is a chapter called the "*anna-svarūpa-vijñāniya*" devoted to a discussion of dietetics. This chapter has a subsection called the *Sūka-dhānya-varga*<sup>2</sup> which records the varieties of rice (*Śālī*) and their properties. These varieties need to be identified with the varieties of rice now current in India and elsewhere in the interests of the history of Indian agricultural products which is still a desideratum. Among these varieties we find a variety called "*mahā-śālī*" and the commentators Aruṇadatta (A.D. 1220) and Hemādri (A.D. 1260) attempt to explain the term in their respective commentaries on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II (c. 8th or 9th cent. A.D.). The verse mentioning the rice *mahā-śālī* reads as follows :—

“रक्तो महान् स कलमस्तूर्णकः शकुनाहतः ।  
सारामुखो दीर्घशक्नो रोध्रशक्नः सुगन्धिकः ॥ १ ॥”

Aruṇadatta explains these varieties as follows :—

(P. 84)—“तत्र रक्तशाली — महाशाली सुप्रथितविव । कलमो मगधादिषु प्रसिद्धः । स एव महातण्डुल इति काश्मीरेषु ।” etc.

From these remarks it appears that the Bengali commentator Aruṇadatta distinguishes *rakta-śālī* from *mahā-śālī*. The variety called *Kalama* was known under that name in Magadha and other provinces in the 13th Century A.D. We are further informed by Aruṇadatta that in Kāshmir this very variety *Kalama* was called *mahā-taṇḍula*.

Vāgbhaṭa II gives us the varieties of rice and puts *deva-śālī* at the top and *mahā-śālī* next to it in point of their medical properties as will be seen from the following line :—

“महास्तमनु कलमस्तं चाप्यनु ततः परे ॥ ५ ॥”

Aruṇadatta explains :—

“तस्यानु—रक्तशालेः पञ्चान् महान् शालिर्वरः । तं च महान्तमनु कलमः महत्संज्ञात् कलमः किञ्चित् ऊनः इत्यर्थः । ततः—अनन्तरम्, परे अन्ये शालयः वरा ज्ञेयाः ।”

So we get a graded series :—

*Rakta-śālī*—*Mahā-śālī*—*Kalama* and others. Now Hemādri explains and supports the above series as follows :—

“महाशाल्यादीनां गुणानाह—महास्तमन्विति । तमनु रक्तशालेर्हीनो महान् । तं चाप्यनु कलमः महतो हीनगुणः ” etc.

1. Vide *Sūtrasthāna* (*adhyāya* VI), p. 85 of the Edition of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* by Hari Śāstri Parādkar with my English Introduction on Vāgbhaṭa II and his Commentators, Nirṇaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1939.

2. *Dhānya* is divided into two classes: (1) *Sūka-dhānya*, and (2) *Simbi-dhānya*. Rice belongs to the *Sūka-dhānya* class.



Hemādri then quotes from *Suśrūtā* (*Sūtrasthāna*, Chap. 46, 4) ; *Caraka* (*Sūtra*, Chap. 27, 7) ; *Aṣṭāṅga-Saṃgraha* of Vāgbhaṭa I (*Sūtra*, Chap. 7) and *Khāraṇādi* a lost medical treatise. He then concludes his discussion as follows :—

“तस्मात्कोऽत्र क्रमः? उच्यते। इह रक्तशाली शब्देन मृदुमधुरस्निग्धसुरभिः शुक्रविशद-  
स्थूलतत्त्वादीनां लोकप्रसिद्धादीनां स्वगुणानामुत्कर्ष उपलक्ष्यते। तेषु यथा यथा समुत्कर्षस्त उत्तमः।  
यथा यथा अपकर्षस्ते हीनाः। उपलक्षणानि पुनर्वर्तुर्विवक्षामेदाद्विज्ञानि। यानेव गुणान् सुश्रुतस्कार-  
णादी कलमशब्देनोपलक्ष्यतः, तानेव चरकवाग्भटौ महाशालीशब्देन। ननु सम्बन्धं विना  
नोपलक्षणत्वम्, न च कलमस्य महाशालिगुणैर्महाशालेर्वा कलमगुणैः कदाचित् सम्बन्धः।  
मैवम्। यदा कलमो महाशालिक्षेत्रे निष्यते तदा तयोस्तुल्यगुणत्वात्। स्वक्षेत्रजादेव महाशालेः  
स्वक्षेत्रज एव कलमो हीनः। एवमितरेष्वपि वाच्यम्। तस्मात्सर्वमेव प्रमाणम्, उक्तप्रकारेणाविरोधात्॥”

In the quotations given by Hemādri from (1) *Suśruta*, (2) *Caraka*, (3) *Khāraṇādi*, and (4), *Aṣṭāṅga-Saṃgraha* we find a mention of the terms *rakta-śāli*, *mahā-śāli* and *Kalama*. *Suśruta* uses the term *lohaśāli* for *rakta-śāli* and puts it at the top of his list ( “तेषां लोहितकः श्रेष्ठः”) *Caraka*, evidently copied by Vāgbhaṭa II (the author of the *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya*) and Vāgbhaṭa I (the author of the *Aṣṭāṅga-saṃgraha*) states :—

“रक्तशालिर्वरस्तेषां तृष्णापन्नमलापहः।  
महास्तमनु कलमस्तं वाप्यनु ततः परे॥”

This gradation of “रक्तशालि—महाशालि—कलम” is exactly identical with that found in the *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya*. *Khāraṇādi*, however, follows a different gradation as follows :— “रक्तशालिब्रिदोषघ्नः कलमोऽनु महास्ततः” viz. “रक्तशालि—कलम—महाशालि”

All these academic discussions of medical scholars right from *Caraka* to *Hemādri* do not give us any idea about the exact size and other particulars of the grains of rice of each variety, which might enable us to identify these varieties mentioned in ancient treatises with the varieties now current. Then again there are gaps of time between any two of the several medical authors, who give us these varieties as will be seen from their probable chronology noted below :—

- (1) *Caraka*—earliest extant medical treatise.
- (2) *Suśruta*—earliest extant medical treatise.
- (3) *Khāraṇādi*—Before A.D. 650 [Vide my papers on this lost medical treatise in *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. IV, pp. 49-62 (1939) and *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), Vol. XV (1939) pp. 97-102]
- (4) *Aṣṭāṅga-saṃgraha* of Vāgbhaṭa I—about 625 A.D.
- (5) *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II—8th or 9th Cent. A.D.
- (6) *Arunadatta*—c. A.D. 1220.
- (7) *Hemādri*—c. A.D. 1260.

In view of the above chronology it is difficult to visualize with any degree of certainty the several varieties of rice mentioned by the earliest treatises of *Caraka* and *Suśruta* and accept in toto the explanations, however academic, offered by late commentators of the 13th century A.D. as recorded above. We must, therefore, search for some contemporary historical evidence regarding each of these varieties of rice. In the present paper I shall record such evidence from a Chinese source<sup>3</sup> of the 7th century A.D. with respect to the *Mahāśāli* variety only. This evidence

3. Vide p. 109 of *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* by the Shaman Hwui Li with an Introduction containing an account of the Works of I-tsing by Samuel Beal, London, 1911) (Trubner and Co.). Hiuen-Tsiang returned to China after his sojourn in India in the year 645 A.D. and died in the year 664 A.D. After this event I-tsing in the year 671 or 672 resolved to visit the Western World (Vide Intro. p. xxv).

is furnished by the Life of the celebrated Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsiang written by his pupil. While describing his guru's visit to the Nālanda monastery (in Bihar) he refers to the different branches of learning in which the priests of the monastery were carrying on their studies. He refers to non-Buddhist Sāstras "Such as the *Vedas* and other books, the *Hetuvidyā*, *Śabdavidyā*, the *Cikitsāśāstrā*, the works on magic (*Atharvaveda*), the *Sāṅkhya*" etc. He further describes the royal patronage to the priests of the monastery founded "700 years" before his visit as follows :—

"The King of the country respects and honours the priest and has remitted the revenues of about 100 villages for the endowment of the convent. Two hundred householders in these villages, day by day, contribute several hundred *piculs* of *ordinary rice* and several hundred catties in weight of *butter* and *milk*. Hence the students here, being abundantly supplied, do not require to ask for the four requisites. This is the source of the purification of their studies to which they have arrived."

Referring to his guru's residence at the Nālanda monastery the pupil of this Chinese traveller states as follows :—

P. 109.—"After this he went to reside in a dwelling to the north of the abode of Dharmapāla Bodhisattva, where he was provided with every sort of charitable offering. Each day he received 120 *Jambīras*, 20 *Pin-long-tsen* (pūga, *arecanut*), 20 *tan-k'an* (nutmegs), an ounce (*tael*) of *amphor* and a *ching* (peck) of *Mahāsāli* rice. This rice is as large as the black bean and when cooked is aromatic and shining, like no other rice at all. It grows only in Magadha, and no where else. It is offered only to the King or to religious persons of great distinction and hence the name *Kung-ta-jin-mai* (i.e. *rice offered to the great householder*). Every month he was presented with three measures of oil and a daily supply of butter and other things according to his need."

The above description of the *Mahāsāli* rice of *Magadha* is very important for the history of this variety of rice which is mentioned by the earliest medical treatises of *Caraka* and *Suśruta* but about which we fail to get any descriptive notes of an objective character. Hemādri in his remarks mentions the ideal qualities and characteristics of rice by the adjectives मृदु (soft), मधुर (sweet), स्निग्ध (oily), सुरभि (sweet-smelling or odorous), शुक्ल (white or bright in colour), विशद (shining), स्थूल (big) and आयत (long) and some of these characteristics viz. bigness, aroma, shining appearance etc. are incidentally found recorded in the foregoing Chinese description of the *Mahāsāli* rice of *Magadha* eaten by Hiuen-Tsiang during his stay at the Nālanda monastery in the 2nd quarter of the 7th century A.D.

The *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* in which the description of the *Mahāsāli* rice is recorded by his disciple Shaman Hwui-li is a supplement to the *Record of the Western Countries* and "what is obscure or half told in the one is made clear in the other." Hiuen-Tsiang (= HT) was born in the year 600 A.D. He left for India in 629 A.D., where he had his sojourn for 16 years and returned to China in 645 A.D. In view of this chronology for HT's *Travels in India* the above description of the *Mahāsāli* rice recorded by his disciple is a piece of reliable contemporary evidence. The description asserts that the *Mahāsāli* rice was produced in *Magadha* and nowhere else. This statement is wonderfully corroborated by the earliest commentator on *Caraka*, viz. Cakrapāṇidatta of Bengal who flourished 400 years after HT i.e. c. A.D. 1060. Cakrapāṇidatta (also called Cakradatta) explains<sup>4</sup> *Caraka's* remarks on the varieties of rice *Kālama* and *Mahāsāli* as follows :—

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 112-113—The Editor explains :—1 picul=133½ lbs.; 1 catty=160 lbs. and 4 requisites = clothes, food, bedding and medicine.

5. Vide p. 148 of *Carakasamhitā* with Cakradatta's commentary (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1922 (*Sūtrasthāna*, Chap. 27)).

“यत् प्रचरति गौडे तल्लेखिष्यामः । अन्यदेशप्रसिद्धं च किञ्चित् ।”

.....कलमो वेदापहारेषु स्वनामप्रसिद्धः .....महाशालिर्मगधे प्रसिद्धः .....रक्तशालिगुणान् महाशालिर्मनागत्याः एवं तस्यान् कलम इत्यत्रापि वाच्यम्”

Cakradatta maintains without any confusion the distinction between *Kalama* and *Mahāsālī* found in *Caraka*, *Suśruta* and *Īhārāṇādi* and also informs us that *Mahāsālī* was celebrated in Magadha.

Another Bengali commentator viz. Arunadatta who flourished about 160 years later than Cakradatta i.e. in A.D. 1220 represents a different tradition about the home of the *Mahāsālī* and *Kalama* varieties as we have seen above. In fact he states that *Kalama* was celebrated in Magadha (कलमो मगधादिषु प्रसिद्धः) and further asserts that this very *Kalama* rice, was known as *mahātāṇḍula* in Kāshmir (स एव महातण्डुल इति काश्मीरेषु). If by महातण्डुल Arunadatta means महाशालि we have to suppose that in the 13th century the *Kalama* variety of rice had come to be associated with Magadha in the manner of the *Mahāsālī* variety and further it was called महातण्डुल which may be a mere paraphrase of the term महाशालि. Whatever be the true history behind the remarks of Arunadatta we have reason to believe that Arunadatta may not have been very critical and accurate in his remarks about *Kalama* which he distinguishes from रक्तशालि but equates with महातण्डुल of Kāshmir current in his days.

Leaving aside the dubious statements of Arunadatta we have to note that Hemādri, a junior contemporary of Arunadatta evidently distinguishes between कलम and महाशालि and regards कलम as slightly inferior to महाशालि when he states :—

“स्वक्षेत्रजादेव महाशालेः स्वक्षेत्रज एव कलमो हीनः”

This statement of Hemādri (A.D. 1260) the minister of the Yādava Kings of Devagiri (Daulatabad) shows that in the medical circles of South India in the 2nd half of the 13th century, the original distinction and status of *Kalama* and *Mahāsālī* as found in *Caraka* and *Suśruta* was recognized.

With a view to clarify our discussion we give below the evidence discussed so far in a tabular form as follows :

Source.	Chronology	Terms used.	Where produced.	Remarks.
चरक <sup>6</sup>	Earliest medical treatise.	( १ ) महाशालि ( २ ) कलम }	Not mentioned.	महाशालि and कलम distinguished.
सुश्रुत	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
खारणादि	Before A.D. 650	( १ ) महान् ( २ ) कलम }	Do.	Do.
अष्टांगसंग्रह	c. A.D. 625	“ महान् स कलमः ”	Do.	Possibly महान्=कलम

6. *Bhelasamhitā* (Calcutta, 1921), p. 127 mentions कलम variety of rice :—  
“कलमान् दीर्घशक्यो रक्तशालीन् सषष्टिकान्” P. 48—‘दीर्घाशरो महाशालिः सुगन्धिः शलिका-  
मुखः’ (महाशालिः ought to be महाशालिः)

Source.	Chronology	Terms used.	Where produced.	Remarks.
Life of Hiuen-Tsiang	c. A.D. 640	महाशालि	मगध	“( महाशालि ) grows only in मगध and nowhere else.”
अष्टांगहृदय	8th or 9th cent. A.D.	“ महान् स कलमः ”	Not mentioned.	Possibly महान्=कलम
चक्रपाणिदत्त	c. A.D. 1060	( १ ) महाशालि ( २ ) कलम...	—मगध —वेदाप्रहारेषु	“ महाशालिर्मगधे प्रसिद्धः ” “ कलमो वेदाप्रहारेषु स्वनाम प्रसिद्धः ”
अरुणदत्त	c. A.D. 1220	( १ ) कलम ( २ ) महाशालि ( ३ ) महातण्डुल	—मगध Not mentioned. —काश्मीर	“ कलमो मगधादिषु प्रसिद्धः ” कलम=महातण्डुल of Kashmir ( “ स एव महातण्डुल इति काश्मीरेषु ” )
हेमाद्रि	c. A.D. 1260	( १ ) महाशालि ( २ ) कलम	Not mentioned. Do.	महाशालि and कलम distinguished Do.

It appears from the above table that medical tradition from *Caraka* and *Susruta* onwards up to A.D. 1500 or so maintained the distinction between the महाशालि variety of rice and the कलम variety. The statement “ महान् स कलमः ” used by the *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* (c. A.D. 625) and repeated by the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* (8th or 9th cent. A.D.) suggests that महाशालि and कलम were possibly losing their distinctive characteristics, thus leading to the merging of the two varieties into one variety, whether called महाशाली or कलम or महातण्डुल. It is, however, certain that a variety called महाशालि possessing eminent qualities of rice so beautifully expressed by Hemādri in the 13th century was a speciality of Magadha, where it was used by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang (between A.D. 629 and 645) during his stay at the *Nālanda* monastery in Magadha. The fame of Magadha as the home of the महाशालि variety of rice remained in tact from c. A.D. 630 to 1060, a period of 430 years as proved by the Chinese evidence of A.D. 640 or so, which gets corroborated by the later statement of the Bengali commentator Cakradatta of c. A.D. 1060.

Though references to the महाशालि variety of rice are rare in the classical Sanskrit literature we find some references to the कलम variety as the following quotations will amply illustrate :—

(1) KĀLIDĀSA in his *Kumārasambhava* (V, 47) refers to the *Kalama* rice as follows :—

अहो स्थिरः कोऽपि तवेत्सितो युवा  
 चिराय कर्णोत्पलशून्यतां गते ।  
 उपेक्षते यः श्लथलम्बिभीर्जटाः  
 कपोलदेशे कलमाग्रपिङ्गलाः ॥ ४७ ॥

Mallinātha explains :— “कलमाः शालिविशेषाः तेषां अप्राणि तद्वत् पिङ्गलाः जटाः उपेक्षते ”

Again he refers to *Kalama* rice plants in the *Raghuvamśa*<sup>7</sup> (IV, 37) as follows :—

“आपादपद्यप्रणता कलमा इव ते रघुम् ।  
 फलैः संवर्धयामासुस्तत्वातप्रतिरोपिताः ॥ ३७ ॥

Mallinātha explains :—

“कलमा इव शालिविशेषा इव ।  
 “शालयः कलमाद्य षष्टिकाद्याश्च पुंस्यमी ”  
 इति अमरः ”

Mr. M. R. Kale while explaining the above simile observes :—

“The paddy flourished in water and so did the Vaṅgas<sup>8</sup> who were great navigators (नौसाधनाः) and Raghu attacked them at a time when the paddies were probably bent low on account of the weight of corn.”

(2) BHĀRAVI in his *Kirātārjunīya* (IV, 4) refers to the *Kalama* rice as follows :—

“तुतोष पद्मन्कलमस्य सोधिकं  
 स वारिजे वारिणि रामणीयकम् ”

Mr. Kale observes :—

“The paddy fields are covered over with water during the rains and often abound in lotuses.”

Mr. Apte in his *Dictionary* explains कलम as “Rice which is sown in May-June and ripens in December-January.” The *Uṇādi Sūtras* (84) refer to *Kalama* rice.

In this way it is possible to know some details about the *Kalama* rice from early Sanskrit sources, not to say the Jaina and the Buddhist ones. We must, however, leave this subject for a further study.

7. *Raghuvamśa* (Bombay 1900) Notes, p. 81.

8. Though Kālidāsa here compares the Vaṅgas (or people of Eastern Bengal) to *Kalama* rice plants it is difficult to conclude from this simile whether he looked upon मगध (South Bihar) or वङ्ग ; as the original home of the *Kalama* rice plant. It is also possible to infer that the *Kalama* rice may have been cultivated in Vaṅga, though the *Life of Hsien-Tsiang* contains the explicit statement that the महाशालि rice “grows in *Magadha* and nowhere else.” Presuming the early distinction between महाशालि and कलम to be true to history we may suppose that—

(1) the महाशालि rice was grown specially in मगध and (2) the कलम rice was grown in वङ्ग or Eastern Bengal in Kālidāsa's time. This presumption would be in perfect harmony with the statement in the *Life of H-T* that महाशालि rice was grown only in मगध.

9. According to *Paṭasaddamahānava* by Hargovind Das (1923-28) p. 289, the word कलम is used in the following Prakrit works :—

( १ ) उवासगदसाओ ( २ ) जंबुद्वीपप्रज्ञप्ति ( ३ ) पाइअलच्छीनाममाल्य

(3) In the *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṣāgāra* (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1900) we get some verses, though anonymous about शालि and कलम as follows :—

Page 254—शालि:

“शाखासंततिसंनिवृद्धनभसो भूयांस एवावनौ  
विद्यन्ते तरवः फलैर्विकलैरतिच्छिद्. प्राणिनाम् ।  
किंतु द्वित्रदलैरलंकृततनोः शालिः सुमस्तुज्जतां  
दत्त्वा येन निजं शिरः सुकृतिना को नाम न प्रीणितः ॥ १७६ ॥”

Page 255—कलमा:

“कलमाः पाकविनम्रा मूलतलाघ्रातसुरभिकहाराः ।  
पवनाकम्पितशिरसः प्रायः कुर्वन्ति परिमलश्लघाम् ॥ १९६ ॥  
अस्मानवेहि कलमा नलमाहतानाम्  
येषां प्रचंडमुसलैरवदाततैव ।  
स्नेहं विमुच्य सहसा खलतां प्रयान्ति  
ये स्वल्पपीडनवशात्त वयं तिलास्ते ॥ १९७ ॥”

In the article on *Rice* in the *Hobson-Jobson* (by Yule and Burnell, London, 1903, pp. 763-764) we are told that the knowledge of *Rice* came to Greece from the expedition of Alexander. The references to *rice* between B.C. 320 and A.D. 90 recorded in this article are as follows :—

- (1) B.C. 320-300 *Theophrastus* (earliest Greek references to *rice* almost during the life-time of Alexander).
- (2) B.C. c. 20—*Strabo* quotes *Aristobulus*, a companion of Alexander's expedition in his description of rice plant and its cultivation.
- (3) B.C. 300—*Athanasius* iv. §39—*Megasthenes* is quoted regarding the use of rice by Indians.
- (4) A.D. 80-90—*Periplus* §41—Peninsula of Guzerat (*Syatrēnē*) produces wheat, rice, sessamin oil, butter and cotton and piecegoods made from it.

In all these early foreign references to rice no mention of any variety of rice is made in the manner of our early medical texts like *Caraka* and *Suśruta*. We must therefore study all the varieties of rice mentioned in our earliest medical and other literature and try to reconstruct their history with a view to clarify our knowledge of the history<sup>10</sup> of Indian economic products which is at present in a nebulous condition.

10. Vide pp. 127-131 of *Arthaśāstra* (Trans. 1929) Chap. XXIV, Superintendent of Agriculture. Much valuable information regarding such history is recorded by Kautilya. He states that शालि and व्रीहि are to be sown at the commencement of the rainy season. On p. 101 शालि and व्रीहि are again mentioned. On p. 102 we are told that one meal of an *Ārya* should consist of one *prastha* of rice, pure and unsplit, one-fourth *prastha* of *sūpa* and clarified butter or oil equal to one-fourth part of *sūpa*—Dogs are to be given one *prastha* of cooked rice—व्रीहि increases four times when cooked, while शालि increases five times when cooked.—p. 147—शालि and व्रीहि are given to best horses and to elephants (p. 152).

# DHANANJAYA AND ABHINAVAGUPTA.

By

K. C. PANDEY, LUCKNOW

Dhananjaya and Abhinavagupta were contemporaries. The former was older. For, he and his brother graced the Court of King Muñja (974-995 A.D.), while the earliest dated available work of the latter, the *Kramastotra* belongs to 990 A.D.

The former did not come under the influence of the latter's aesthetic theory. For, the *Dhanyāloka-Locana* and the *Abhinava Bhārati* belong to the second period of his literary activity and, therefore, could not have been written before the commencement of the 11th century.

Dhananjaya partly followed Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, who belonged to the close of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century A.D. and had written a commentary on the *Nāṭya Śāstra* of Bharata. In the course of this short paper, I discuss how Dhananjaya differs from Abhinavagupta on the following fundamental points, on one of which undoubtedly he follows Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka.

Both, Dhananjaya and Abhinavagupta, have written on dramaturgy. Both follow the authority of Bharata. The former has simply summarised the views of Bharata in the *Daśarūpaka*. The latter has written an extensive commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*, known as *Abhinava Bhārati*. Both knew the views of earlier authorities on dramaturgy. Though in the case of the former there is only indirect evidence in support of his knowledge, because these earlier views are quoted by his brother, Dhanika, only in his commentary on the *Daśarūpaka*. Dhananjaya's attitude towards the theory of Dhvani was antagonistic. He, therefore, generally criticises the views of Anandavardhana, presented in the *Dhvanyāloka*.

The difference between Dhananjaya, as interpreted by Dhanika, and Abhinavagupta is very pronounced on the two fundamental points.

(1) The number of Rasas. The former admits only eight Rasas and refutes the view that Śānta is the ninth Rasa. The latter takes particular pain to establish it as an independent and the most basic Rasa and holds the number of Rasas to be nine.

(2) The former does not accept the theory of Dhvani and, following the authority of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, holds, that the rise of the basic mental state (*sthāyin*) in the spectator is due to the contextual power of the language. (*Tātparyā Śakti*) and that the universalisation (*Sādhārāṇibhāva*) of the subjective and the objective aspects of the aesthetic experience is due to the two powers of the poetic or dramatic composition, which had been assumed by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka for the first time.

There are many other minor points on which they differ, such as the conception of *Nāṭya*, *Bindu* and *Pratimukha* etc.

## THE BASES OF DIFFERENCE OF OPINION ON ŚĀNTA.

### THE TEXT OF THE NĀṬYA ŚĀSTRA.

A careful study of the *Abhinava Bhārati* clearly reveals the fact that there were two recensions of the *Nāṭya Śāstra* (I) Earlier and (II) Later. In the former, Bharata's text on Śānta did exist. In the latter, it did not. These two recensions are clearly reflected in the two published texts of the *Nāṭya Śāstra*.

(1) Published along with the *Abhinava Bhārati* in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series and

(2) published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series. In the former we find the text on *Sānta*. In the latter we do not.

In both the recensions, however, some stray remarks on *Sānta* were present, as we know on the authority of *Abhinava Bhārati*, such as, "Kvaciechamaḥ" and "Mokṣe Cāpi virāḡiṇaḥ". But they are so few and short that they did not draw the attention of less careful and uncritical readers.

#### EVIDENCE OF THE ABHINAVA BHĀRATĪ

The text of the *Nāṭya Śāstra* of Bharata, as given at the top of each page of the *Abhinava Bhārati* published in the Gackwad Oriental Series, does not present correctly the text of the *Nāṭya Śāstra* as Abhinava had before him, while writing his commentary. The reasons in support of this view may be stated as follows :—

The introductory portion of the text on *Sānta*

शमस्थायिभावात्मको मोक्षप्रवर्तकः

was not there in the text that Abhinava had before him. Because on page 340 (*A. Bh.*) he says :—

“तथा च चिरन्तनपुस्तकेषु स्थायिभावान् रसत्वभुपनेष्यामः इत्यस्थानन्तरं शान्तो नाम शमस्थायिभावात्मक इत्यादि शान्तलक्षणं पठ्यते”

The विभाव, अनुभाव and व्यभिचारिभाव as given in this edition were omitted in Abhinava's text. Because, the *Vibhāva* etc. as given by him in his commentary are very different from those given in the published text : It runs as follows :—

“स तु तत्त्वज्ञानवैराग्याशयशुद्ध्यादिभिर्विभावैः  
समुत्थयते ..... व्यभिचारिणश्चास्य  
निर्वेदस्मृतिधृति सर्वाश्रमशौचस्तम्भरोमाद्यादयः” (*A. Bh.* 334)

Abhinava states the *Vibhāva* etc. of the *Sānta* as follows :—

“तत्त्वज्ञानलक्षणस्य च स्थायिनः समस्तोयं लौकिक  
लौकिकचित्तवृत्तिकलापो व्यभिचारितामेति .....  
विभावा अपि कथयीश्वरानुग्रहप्रभृतयः” (*A. Bh.* 338)

II. If the subsequent portion of the prose passage of the *Nāṭya Śāstra* as given in G. O. S. existed in the Manuscript that he had before him he could not have mentioned other *Vibhāva* etc. of *Sānta*, than those given in the original.

III. He quotes two of the *Saṅgraha Kārikās* in full in his commentary, namely

“मोक्षध्यात्मसमुत्थः” and  
“एवं स्वं निमित्तादाय” (*A. Bh.* 341)

which are found as No. 104, p. 334 and No. 108, p. 336 of the G.O.S. If these *kārikās* had been in the manuscript before him he would not have quoted them in full.

IV. It was only the last *Kārikā* “एवमेते रसा” which was there in his manuscript. To it he refers and comments on it (*A. Bh.* 342).

#### I. OPPOSITION TO SĀNTA ON TEXTUAL BASIS

Orthodox followers of Bharata, to whom only the later recension of Bharata's text was available, rejected *Sānta* on the basis that Bharata does not define *Sānta*, nor does he state the situation (*Vibhāva*) etc. in the context of which it is to be presented. This view is referred to in the *Locana* (176) and the *Avaloka* on the *Daśarūpaka* (197).



*Its Criticism.*

In the latter it is simply stated but not criticised. In the former, the untenability of the opponent's view is shown on (I) ground of experience as well as (II) on the textual ground allowing the opponent the advantage of maintaining that the later recension only is authoritative. In the first place, it does not matter, he says if Bharata does not define and state the situation etc. of it. We have to admit it because we experience it when all the desires for the worldly objects cease. In the second place there is evidence of Bharata's text also to show that he accepted it, for, he says "*Kvacicchamah.*"

• II. OPPOSITION TO *ŚĀNTA* INDEPENDENTLY OF THE TEXT

There is just one view mentioned in the *Avaloka* (147) but not directly referred to by Abhinava which denies *Śānta* independently of Bharata's text. It says that there is no such aesthetic experience as is assumed by some under the name of *Śānta*, because attachment and aversion, which have been associated with the self from time immemorial, cannot totally be uprooted. The statement is so brief that its implication is not quite clear. If, however, it be supposed to imply that in no case and under no circumstances can they be totally uprooted, it would mean that the fourth object of human life, the final emancipation, is impossible, a view which no follower of the orthodox systems of Indian thought excepting of course the *Cārvāka* and to some extent, the *Mīmāṃsaka* can accept, much less can a *Saiva* like Abhinavagupta. But if it means that such a state of freedom from all desires and aversions is not possible in the spectator, it would mean that no aesthetic experience is possible, because such a state of freedom is involved in all, a position which the opponents themselves will be most unwilling to hold.

III. OPPONENT ON THE BASIS OF THE INDIRECT EVIDENCE OF BHARATA

Bharata, while defining *Dīpa*, one of the ten types of drama, says that in it only six *Rasas* ought to be presented. And *Śṛṅgāra* and *Hāsyā* have to be totally excluded from it. Because Bharata mentions only eight *Rasas* here, six to be presented and two to be excluded, some opponents take it as an evidence of Bharata's non-admission of *Śānta*. They argue that if Bharata had accepted *Śānta* as an independent *Rasa* he would have surely included it in the list of either presentable or unrepresentable *Rasas* in *Dīpa*. Hence they conclude that there is no *Śānta* *Rasa*. *Its Criticism.*

Abhinava refutes this view as follows :-

Bharata's definition of *Dīpa*, rather than being an evidence against his acceptance of *Śānta*, is in favour of it. The mistake of the opponent is due to his having taken only a part of the definition into account. He ignores the two important parts of the definition.

1. It originates from composition wherein the *Rasa* involving excitement predominates ("*Dīpta rasa Kāvyaṇiḥ*").

2. It is written in styles technically called *Sātrati* and *Ārabhati* ("*Sātvatyā rabhātivr̥tti Saṁyuktāḥ*"). The first part excludes the possibility of the introduction of *Śānta* in *Dīpa* wherein *Raudra* *Rasa* predominates. If there had been no *Śānta* *Rasa* what could it have meant to exclude? If, on the other hand, *Śānta* be accepted, then and then alone, after the statement that in *Dīpa* there are to be presented only six *Rasas* excluding *Śṛṅgāra* and *Hāsyā*, the question arises "what about *Śānta*?" And the first part is meant to exclude it.

It cannot be urged here that that part is meant to exclude *Karūṇa*, *Bibhatsa* and *Bhayanaka*. For they are excluded by the second part.

IV. SEMI-TEXTUAL OPPOSITION TO THE SEMI-TEXTUAL EXPONENTS OF *ŚĀNTA*

It is difficult to say what were the contents of Bharata's text on *Śānta* *Rasa* as discovered by Abhinava in the earlier recension. Two things, however, are clear

from Abhinava's own statement (1) whatever else may or may not have been the content of Bharata's text on *Sānta*, it surely stated the *Sthāyibhāva* of it and (2) The statement came before the exposition of all other Rasas. It is, therefore, impossible to say how far the first and probably the earliest view of the exponent of *Sānta* cited by Abhinava, in the *Abhinava Bhārati*, had the support of Bharata's authority. One thing, however, is clear, namely, that it had the support of Bharata in the admission of *Sama* as a *Sthāyibhāva*. For, a reference to it is found even in the later recension, as has been stated above.

According to this view,

1. *Sāma*<sup>1</sup> is the basic mental state of *Sānta*.
2. It is to be presented in the context of the situation constituted by practice of austerity and contact with yogins etc.
3. Its action is confined to the presentation of not-being of all such passions as those of love and anger etc.
4. Its transient emotions are patience etc.

*Its criticism by Abhinava's predecessors.*

(a) The<sup>2</sup> acceptance of *Sama* as a basic mental state is contrary to Bharata's view, according to whom the number of *Bhāvas* is only forty-nine ; while if *Sama* be accepted as *Sthāyi-Bhāva* the number would come to be fifty.

(b) The situation of a basic mental state constitutes the fringe-experience in the case of the accepted Rasas such as the *Śrīngāra*. But such is not the case with austerity etc. in relation to *Sānta*.

If it be said by the exponents, "we speak of austerity etc. as the cause (*Vibhāva*) of *Sānta* not because of their immediate causality to *Sānta*, but because of their causality to the realisation of the ultimate, which constitutes an element in the experience of *Sānta*." The reply is that in that case the causality of the austerity etc. to *Sama* will be indirect and as such unfit to be represented as the *Vibhāva* of *Sānta*.

(c) The absence of passions such as love and anger, cannot be spoken of as the Anubhāvas of *Sānta*, because it cannot be distinguished from *Sama* which is supposed to be the cause and, therefore, of the opposite nature from Anubhāva, which is its effect. Further, the absence, being of the negative nature, cannot be presented and, therefore, cannot serve as the sign through which *Sama* could be known. As for the presentation of deep sleep and senselessness, they are presentable through deep respiration, fall and lying on the ground etc.

(d) The transient emotions of *Sānta* such as *Dhṛti* which consists in the use of the available, are impossible in the context of *Sānta*.

(e) Further, the drama is supposed to have a moral purpose. It is meant to instruct the spectators such as the princes. But what instruction can the presentation of the ways and means of the realisation of the Ultimate impart to them? For, if they attain a state, akin to what one gets through the realisation of the Ultimate, they would transcend the empirical level and so would become indifferent to sufferings of others.

Therefore there is no such *Rasa* as *Sānta*.

*Criticism of the above.*

Abhinavagupta takes up the problem of *Sānta Rasa* at this point. He replies to the point mentioned in the last paragraph as follows :

The audience is to be instructed not only in regard to the empirical and semi-empirical aims of human life, such as the triad of *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*, but

also in regard to the transcendental and highest aim, namely, the final emancipation. In fact, it is well known that all the systems of philosophy no less than the various *Smytis* and *Itihāsas* are primarily meant to instruct people in regard to the highest aim of human life. Therefore, just as the basic mental state, fit for the attainment of the first three objects of human life, such as *Rati* etc., if well presented on the stage, are responsible for the aesthetic experience known as *Śṅgāra* etc. so is the basic mental state, fit for the attainment of the highest aim of human life, if equally well presented, responsible for the arousal of the corresponding aesthetic experience in such spectators as are possessed of the necessary aesthetic susceptibility.

\* Having thus established *Sānta* to be a *Rasa*, he raises the question "what is its basic mental state?"

#### V. EXPONENTS OF SĀNTA ON THE BASIS OF INDIRECT EVIDENCE OF BHARATA

##### 1. *Nirveda* as *Sthāyin* of *Sānta*.

1. Some maintain *Nirveda* to be the *Sthāyin* of *Sānta* as follows :—

They<sup>3</sup> distinguish *Nirveda* that is due to poverty etc. and that which is due to the realisation of the Ultimate. The difference, they hold, is due to difference in the causes. They maintain that Bharata intended *Nirveda* to be taken as a *Sthāyin*, as is clear from the fact that he mentions this as the first of the *Vyabhicārins*. But for this intention he would never have begun his list of *Vyabhicārins* with such an inauspicious word. Further, Bharata excludes *Jugupsā* as a *Vyabhicārin* from the presentation of *Vipralambha Śṅgāra*. This makes it clear that Bharata intended all the *Bhāvas* to be used as either *Sthāyin* or *Vyabhicārin*. Hence there can be no textual objection to presenting *Nirveda* as a *Sthāyin*.

That *Nirveda* which is due to the realisation of the Ultimate is more permanent than the directly mentioned eight *Sthāyins*, because it is capable of driving them all away. How could it do so unless it had been more permanent than the accepted *Sthāyins* as has just been stated.

##### *Its criticism.*

According to those who hold that *Nirveda*, due to the realisation of the Ultimate is the *Sthāyin* of *Sānta*, the realisation of the Ultimate should be the *Vibhāva* of *Sānta* and not the austerity etc. For, the causality of austerity to *Nirveda* is indirect and admission of the indirect cause as *Vibhāva* will make the conception too wide. And even if the realisation of the ultimate be accepted to be the cause of *Sānta* *Rasa*, it would cease to be presentable, because its situation, the realisation of the Ultimate is unrepresentable.

Further, the causal relation between *Nirveda* and *Tattva Jñāna* has been totally misconceived. For, what is *Nirveda* after all? Is it not the consciousness that all the worldly objects are unfit for the pursuit? If so, it is rather the cause of *Tattva-jñāna*, the chief characteristic of which is the freedom from all attachments. For, a person, who is free from all attachments makes such efforts as enable him to realise the Ultimate which is responsible for liberation. It is never the case that a person realises the Ultimate first and then comes to realise the futility of pursuit of all worldly objects which ultimately leads to liberation.

##### *Philosophical Discussion on Causal Relation.*

It is wrong to quote the authority of Patañjali "Tatparam puruṣakhyāter Guṇavairṣṇyam" in support of the view that the realisation of the Ultimate is the cause of freedom from attachment. For, Patañjali himself makes it clear in a subsequent aphorism as to what he means by (*Vairāgya*) *Guṇavairṣṇya* in the preceding aphorism. There he clearly says that such indifference to the worldly objects

is a higher stage of the realisation of the Ultimate. Thus the point is clear that it is not *Nirveda* but *Tattva-jñāna* which is the *Sthāyin* of *Sānta*.

It is<sup>4</sup> also wrong to seek the support of Kaṇāda's aphorism 'Dukḥajanma' etc. to assert the causality of the realisation of the Ultimate (*Tattvajñāna*) to freedom from attachment to the worldly objects (*Nirveda*) on the ground (1) that it mentions *Tattvajñāna* (*Mūhyājñānāpāya*) as the cause of *Vairāgya*, (*Doṣāpāya*) and (2) that *Vairāgya* is nothing but *Nirveda*, and therefore, to maintain *Nirveda* to be the basic mental state of *Sānta*. For, *Nirveda* is nothing but a continuous flow of the current of grief and, therefore, is a distinct state of mind and as such is very different from *Vairāgya*, the destruction of all mental afflictions.

Even if *Nirveda* be taken to be synonymous with *Vairāgya* it would still be not right to maintain its causality to the final emancipation. For, though it comes, in between non-pursuit of the worldly objects (*Prarītyapāya*) and the realisation of the Ultimate, it has its own distinct cause, different from the realisation of the Ultimate. And even if it be allowed that there is no distinct cause of freedom from affection, yet the fact remains that the opponen<sup>t</sup> confuses the Vedānta conception of *Tattvajñāna* with that of Nyāya. For, according to Nyāya *Tattvajñāna* is not self-realisation but knowing different things in the true perspective. If, however, he were to take it in Vedānta sense his position is reduced to simply fighting for word "Nirveda" instead of *Sānta*, without any difference in meaning, inasmuch as he will have to admit *Nirveda* as due to *Tattvajñāna*, the self-realization.

#### DHANAÑJAYA ON NIRVEDA AS STHĀYIN OF SĀNTA

He rejects *Nirveda* as the ninth *Sthāyin*. In so doing, he seems to have ignored realisation of the Ultimate as its cause. He seems to have taken it in the strict sense of the term i.e. self-dissatisfaction, self-disrespect or self-contempt (*Spāvamānana*). For, Dhanika in the course of his interpretation talks of anxiety (*Cintā*) etc. as its *Vyabhicārin*, which are impossible in a state of mind caused by the realisation of the Ultimate. His reason for the rejection is that the definition of *Sthāyin*, as a state of mind, the continuity of which is not broken either by such states of mind as harmonise with it or even by those which are antagonistic to it, does not apply to it, because its continuity is really broken by anxiety etc. He definitely refutes the view, according to which the ground for its rejection as a *Sthāyin* is its incapacity to lead to any one of the well recognised goals of human life. For, then, he says we will have to reject *Hūsa* etc. also to be the *Sthāyins*, because they also do not lead to any goal.

#### 2. Any one of the eight accepted *Sthāyins* as the *Sthāyin* of *Sānta*.

Others hold that any one of the eight accepted basic mental states can be the *Sthāyin* of *Sānta*. Any one of these if presented in the context of a situation different from that to which *Śṛṅgāra* etc. are due (i.e. in the context of the means of the realisation of the Ultimate, such as hearing of the lectures on the nature of the Ultimate) will arouse the different aesthetic experience called *Sānta*. Thus uninterrupted devotion to the self, to the exclusion of all the rest, may be the means of liberation. Hence *Rati* may be presented to be the *Sthāyin* of *Sānta*. *Utsāha* etc. also can similarly be treated. His view is supported, its exponents maintain, by the *Gītā* which says "Yascātmaratirevasyāt". The view that such *Vibhāvas* were meant to be introduced in the context of *Rati* etc. is attributed by the exponents of the theory to Bharata, who, they hold, implied them by the use of the word "Ādi" at the end of the enumerated *Vibhāvas*.

This view Abhinava criticises as follows :-

This means that there is no definite *Sthāyin* of *Sānta*. And multiplicity of

*Sthāyin* would involve the multiplicity of *Rasa* also. The identity of effect of all these cannot be advanced as a reason for the identity of *Rasas* arising therefrom. For, in that case *Vīra* and *Raudra* also will have to be looked upon as identical, because of the identity of their effect. •

### 3. All the eight together as *Sthāyin* of *Sānta*.

• Still others hold that all the *Sthāyins* unified in the manner in which the different ingredients are unified in the *Pānaka Rasa* are the *Sthāyin* of *Sānta*. This view also is untenable, for, the different basic mental states do not occur simultaneously, because of their being of essentially opposite nature.

### • VI. THE VIEWS ON *SĀNTA* WITH SLIGHT DIFFERENCE FROM THAT OF ABHINAVAGUPTA

#### (1) *Śama* as *Sthāyin* of *Sānta*.

Some maintain that *Śama*, the absence of all affection of the mind is the *Sthāyin* of *Sānta*. But this view also is not sound. Because the total not being of yearning, being of the nature of total negation, cannot be rightly spoken of as a *Bhāva*. If, however, the opponents mean by " *Trṣṇā asadbhāva* " not the total absence of yearning but the presence of a state of mind which in its nature is quite opposite to yearning, we perfectly agree with him.

#### DHANAŃJAYA ON *ŚAMA* AS *STHĀYIN* OF *SĀNTA*

He holds that, though *Śama* as the basic mental state of *Sānta* may be presentable in poetry, it is certainly not presentable in drama. Because drama is primarily meant to be presented in action. Such a presentation, however, is not possible in the case *Śama*, because it consists in the cessation of all activities.

According to him there is no drama wherein *Śama* is represented to be the basic mental state. The position of those who maintain that in the *Nāgānanda*, a drama from the pen of Harṣa, *Śama* is the basic mental state, is, according to him, untenable. Because such a view is inconsistent with the love for *Malayavatī* and the attainment of sovereignty of the *Vidyādhara*s, and also because, there is no instance of a drama, wherein both the attachment to and aversion from the worldly objects are represented as due to one and the same situation in which the original hero represented in the drama is involved. He holds that in the *Nāgānanda*, the basic mental state is *Dayāriotsāha*. Because only in relation to such a *Sthāyin*, the erotic aesthetic experience can occupy a subordinate position and also because with it alone attainment of sovereignty harmonises.

#### *Additional reason for unrepresentability of Śama.*

According to him *Śama*, the basic mental state of *Sānta* at its highest pitch is not presentable. For, such a state of mind is reached only at the final emancipation which consists in the merging of the individual into the Universal. It is a state, which, according to the well-known authorities, is characterised by freedom from pleasure and pain; attachment and aversion, and anxiety and desire. It is of the nature of negation of all for which the words stand. No linguistic presentation of it is, therefore, possible. Even if it be somehow presented, no aesthetic experience from it is possible. For, there is no person possessed of the necessary aesthetic susceptibility for *Sānta*.

If, however, *Sānta* be identified with the means of attaining it, such as *Muditā* etc., it implies the admission that the aesthetic experience of *Sānta* does not involve a state of mind distinct from those involved in the first four primary *Rasas* such as *Śṛṅgāra* etc. Then the nature of its experience being included in those of the first four, it does not require a separate statement.

These views are refuted by Abhinava in the course of exposition of his own theory.

(2) *The view of Śānta based on another conception of Sama.*

Still others, who have noticed the verse of Bharata "Svam Svam nimittam" etc. assert that nature of *Śānta* is common to all Rasas. For, all other Rasas arise from the unaffected state of mind due to the specific causes e.g. Śṛṅgāra from beautiful women in befitting situation. According to them, therefore, the basic mental state of *Śānta* is the state of mind before the rise of any affection due to external causes.

This view, Abhinava says, is not very different from his own. There is just a slight difference. It consists in the fact that while, according to the opponent, it is the absence of affection preceding all affections. According to Abhinava, it is the freedom from affections consequent on the destruction thereof, the latter position is sound inasmuch as it has the support of Patañjali who says "Vitarāga jan-mādaśanāt."

## ABHINAVAGUPTA'S THEORY OF ŚĀNTA

*The self as the Sthāyin of Śānta.*

The realisation of the Ultimate is the only means to liberation, therefore, when the latter is to be presented as the hero's object of attainment the former has necessarily to be presented as the Sthāyin. The realisation of the Ultimate is nothing but the realisation of the Self. In the realisation of the Self, the latter (Self) does not appear as a distinct object as in the case of the objective cognition through senses on the empirical level. This point is discussed in his commentary on "Mātrāsparsāstu" etc. (*Bh. G. Ch. 2. V. 15*). The word *Tattva-jñāna*, therefore, according to him, means nothing but the Self itself as pure knowledge and pure bliss and free from all determinate experiences. Such Self is the *Sthāyin of Śānta*.

He replies to an anticipated objection that it will mean going against the authority of Bharata, who does nowhere mention the Self as the *Sthāyin of Śānta*, as follows :—

It should not be mentioned as *Sthāyin* like *Rati* etc. For, the latter are spoken of as *Sthāyins*, because they are comparatively more permanent than the transient emotions inasmuch as they affect the self so long as the situation responsible for their rise persists. They are to the Self what a picture is to the picture board. The Self as such is the most permanent of all the *Sthāyins*. This relegates all the basic mental states, such as *Rati* to the position of the *Vyabhicāryins*. Its permanence is natural and real but not comparative. It is, therefore, unnecessary to mention it separately in the list of *Sthāyin* for nobody includes the genus in counting the parts of a thing which is subsumed under it.

The aforesaid argument disposes of the objection that the assumption of a separate *Sthāyin of Śānta* will increase the accepted number of forty-nine Bhāvas.

*Why is Tattvajñāna mentioned separately?*

As to the question, why is *Tattvajñāna* mentioned separately by itself he replies that because it is aesthetically experienceable in a manner distinct from that in which *Rati* etc. are experienced. It is separately mentioned for the additional reason that just as *Rati* etc. in all their purity are experienceable on the empirical level so is not the pure Self. Even that indeterminate experience of the Self, that a Yogin has after the rise from *Samādhi*, is not altogether free from all kinds of affection. It is, however, unimportant to discuss this question here. For, even if we accept the Self in its purity as experienceable on the empirical level, it does not affect our position. For Bharata in his enumeration of the basic permanent states of the mind does not mention all such mental states as can possibly be represented as permanent, because all of them are not necessary in the rise of the accepted

types of the aesthetic experience. His object in mentioning them separately as *Sthāyins* is only this that they may not be misconceived as definable in terms of the definition of the *Vyabhicārīn*. In the case of the Self however, there is no possibility of such a misconception. Hence it is not included in the general list of *Sthāyins*. This justifies the text of Bharata which mentions the *Bhāvas* to be forty-nine.

*Why does Bharata use the word Sama and not Nirveda.*

As to the question why does Bharata substitute *Sama* for *Tattvajñāna* as the *Sthāyin* of *Sānta*, his reply is that it is not because there is the possibility of the pure Self being looked upon as transient, nor because it is incapable of giving rise to the aesthetic experience, nor even because it is not fit to be presented as *Sthāyin* but because he wants to point out that *Sama* is not distinct state of mind, but the Self itself.

The case with the word 'Nirveda' is, however, different. In the context of *Sānta* it cannot be similar in its nature to that which arises from such distinct situation as the poverty. And only that which is similar in nature to the original conception of a word, though it may be due to a different cause, is to be represented by the word standing for the original conception. For instance, *Rati*, etc. which are similar in nature to the original conceptions of these words, though due to different causes, are represented by the same words. *Nirveda*, therefore, because it is intended to mean a very different thing from what it originally means, is not the right word to stand for the basic mental state in the context of the *Sānta*. Hence it is not mentioned by Bharata as a substitute for *Tattvajñāna*.

Thus *Tattvajñāna* and *Sāma* mean the Self itself, because they represent the very nature of the Self. That *Sāma* is the very nature of the Self is made clear by the fact that a person, who has realised the Self in all its purity through undisturbed *Samādhi*, experiences *Sāma* even after the rise from *Samādhi*, in spite of the rise of impurities in the form of mental affections. This view is supported by Paṭanjali who says † "Prasāntavāhitā Saṃskārāt."

*Other constituents of Sānta.*

As for the constituents of *Sānta* other than the *Sthāyin*, Abhinava holds that all the transient states of mind, whether empirical or not, may be represented as its *Vyabhicārīns*. All the *Anubhāvas* of the said mental states coupled with *Yama* and *Niyama* may be presented as its *Anubhāvas* as also those which are spoken of as *Svabhāvābhinava* in the three chapters dealing with the *Āngikābhinayas* of *Upāṅgābhinayas*. Such *Abhinayas* are given the epithet "Svabhāva" for the simple reason that *Sānta* only is their sphere. Its *Vibhāvas* are the favour of the God and so on.

*Other Sthāyins in the context of Sānta.*

*Rati* etc. are experienced in the context of *Sānta* as being on the verge of destruction. But they are never predominantly experienced as is eagerness in the context of love in separation or even in union and so on. For just as in disgust, which involves a state quite opposite to that involved in attachment, eagerness etc. are never experienced so cannot be the growing love in *Sāma*.

There is, however, closer relationship between *Sānta* and *Utsāha*, consisting in the effort arising from desire to do good to others and therefore synonymous with pity (*dayā*). For, a person who has attained all that is attainable, is naturally to work for others. It is because of this that some speak of it as *Dayārīra* and others as *Dharmavīra*.

## DISCUSSION ON RASA IN THE NĀGĀNANDA

It cannot be objected in this context that enthusiasm (*Utsāha*) arises from egoistic consciousness but *Sānta* is free from such consciousness. For, even the opposite is not altogether unfit to be presented as the *Vyabhicārin*, as for instance, *Nirveda* in *Rati*. In fact, in the *Nāgānanda*, *Sānta* is found together with *Utsāha* as in "Śāyyāśādhvala" etc. There is no condition marked by total absence of enthusiasm. For, in the absence of will and effort a person would be no better than a stone. And just because the persons who have attained the highest peace and have realised the highest, have nothing more to do for themselves; therefore, their parting with all their possession is not inconsistent with *Sāma*.

As for the teaching "Protect thy body" it enjoins the protection of such bodies as have still to attain their objective. So far as the men of renunciation are concerned, they have nothing to do with the protection of their bodies. They have somehow to give up their bodies. For the instruction to a man of renunciation is that he should end his body by falling into fire, water or pit. The best thing to do for him is, therefore, to sacrifice his body for the sake of others.

The objection that *Jimūtavāhana* etc. have no perfect self-control does not affect our position. For, what we are trying to establish is that they had realised the Ultimate. And this they had surely done, for those who identify themselves with their bodies and so prize them above all things, can never sacrifice them for the sake of others as a matter of religious duty.

As regards the sacrifice of the body in the battle-field, it may be said that it is not totally selfless. For, a warrior is prompted to do so with the object of defeating the enemy. Similarly in the case of the sacrifice of the body by fall from a cliff, the desire to get a very much better body is predominantly present.

Hence all the self-less efforts for the good of others, from imparting instructions to others to the sacrifice of the body for the sake of others, are not inconsistent with *Sāma*. *Jimūtavāhana* etc., therefore, were men of self-realisation. And such men, according to both *Śruti* and *Smṛti* attain liberation, irrespective of the stage of life in which they may be. There are, however, to be found instances of men of self-realisation such as *Bodhisattva* who, because of the intention of doing good to others with the object of attaining religious merit therefrom, have got the befitting bodies.

It cannot be said that if in the *Nāgānanda* also it is *Vīra* that is primarily presented, *Sānta* ceases to be a *Rasa*. For, the aesthetic experience is possible from a *Sthāyin*, even when it is presented as occupying a befitting subordinate position, as for instance from the obedience to father's order by Rāma, which occupies a subordinate position to *Vīra*. In the *Nāgānanda*, therefore *Sānta* is a subordinate *Rasa*, because the objectives attained by the hero are *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*. With this very object in view the sage while defining *Nāṭaka* as "Rddhivilāsa-dhīrguṇih" has said that in drama prosperity and enjoyment are to be primarily presented as leading to one of the two objects of human life. *Artha* and *Kāma*, which bring about the identification of all. This is also the reason why the sage does not mention the physical action accompanying the *Sānta*. The view, therefore, that there is no *Sānta Rasa*, because the sage does not mention any *jātyaṅgaka*s of it, is not sound. Thus it is proved that in the *Nāgānanda* the enthusiasm characterised by pity is the chief *Sthāyin*.

That *Vyabhicārin*s come in the context of *Sāma* according to the occasion is a view, which has the support of Patañjali who says "Tacchidreṣu" etc. Thus the view, that *Sāma* is characterised by freedom from action and, therefore, there can be no *Anubhāvas* of it, has been refuted.



No doubt *Sama* at its highest stage is not fit for presentation, because then the mind is free from all affection. But the same is the case with *Rati* and *Soka* etc.

As for the identification of the audience with the focus of the situation of *Sānta*, there is no doubt about it that those who have the residual traces of the *Tattvairāṇa* get identified. This is supported by the authority of Bharata who says "Mokṣe cāpi virāgiṇaḥ".

The question "how could the æsthetic experience of *Vira*, etc. be possible on the presentation of *Sānta*" is baseless. For, whenever *Sama* is presented, *Śṛṅgāra* or *Vira*, as leading to the attainment of one of the objects of human life, has necessarily to be presented along with it. The æsthetic experience of *Śṛṅgāra* etc. therefore, depends upon that of the *Sānta*. Even in the case of *Prahasana*, wherein *Hāsyā* is primarily presented, the experience of *Hāsyā* depends upon that *Rasa* which is presented along with it.

Thus the existence of *Sānta* *Rasa* is established in every way.

#### MANUSCRIPT AUTHORITY.

The view that *Sānta* is the ninth *Rasa* is supported by old manuscripts wherein after "Sthāyibhāvan rasatvamupaneṣyāmaḥ" *Sānta* *Rasa* is found defined as "Sānto nāma Sāmasthāyibhāvātmakāḥ" etc. All *Rasa* experience is very much like that of *Sānta*. For, it is nothing but the experience of self free from all limitation. And *Sānta* is nothing more or less than that. The empirical objects are never the contents of æsthetic experience, because it consists in the predominance of self-consciousness free from all limiting conditions. This freedom comes from freedom from objective affections. The difference between *Sānta* and other æsthetic experiences is only this that in the latter case the Self is affected by the innate tendencies such as love etc. *It is just because Sānta is involved in all Rasas that it is mentioned by the sage first of all.*

#### THE NATURE OF AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE OF SĀNTA.

Just as the white string, whereon gems of different kinds are loosely and thinly strung, shines in and through them, so does the pure Self through the basic mental states such as *Rati* and *Utsāha* which affect it. The æsthetic experience of *Sānta*, consists in the experience of the Self as free from the entire net of painful experiences which are due to the external expectations, and therefore is blissful state of identity with the Universal. It is the experience of Self in one of the stages on the way to perfect Self-realisation.

Such a state of the Self when presented either on the stage or in poetry, and therefore universalised, is responsible for the arousal of a mental condition which brings the transcendental bliss.

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## MISCELLANEA

### A NOTE ON SĀMĀNYA BHĀŚĀVIJÑĀNA

I am very grateful to Dr. Siddheshwar VARMA for his very kind review of my Hindi book *Sāmānya bhāśāviññāna*. He and Dr. S. K. CHATTERJI are the doyens of living Indian Linguisticians, so any appreciation from either of them is always an encouragement. A word of explanation, however, appears to be necessary regarding his criticism. I readily admit the force of observation in item I, e.g., the absence of a detailed table of contents and of a subject-index. Some kind friends had announced the publication rather early and so I was pestered by many students when the book was passing through the last stages of printing. Even my proof-sheets were not spared! Hence this shortcoming which will be made up in the next edition. Improvements suggested in items III, VII, XI, XII, XIV, XVI, XX also will be incorporated in the next edition. As to items II, VIII, IX, X, XIII, XV, XXI and XXII, I hold opinions different from Dr. VARMA'S. But this is not the place for a detailed discussion. Regarding technical terms, I may say that my association with the Hindustani Committee of Bihar convinced me that the present material of Hindi can in no way prove sufficient, and that we shall have to borrow when necessary. I decided to borrow from Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrits rather than from other languages, Asiatic or European. I consider this to be the soundest policy for all Indian languages.

Allahabad,

BABU RAM SAKSENA.

### THE METHODOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE CONCEPT OF 'ETHNO-PSYCHOLOGY' IN MODERN LINGUISTICS

There are certain languages whose phonological features might present patterns like the two illustrative languages of C and D of SAPIR<sup>1</sup>. At first sight we might be tempted to speculate genetically with regard to these languages and conclude on general principles that the pattern resemblance between them is an index of genetic relationship<sup>2</sup>. But we must be very guarded in yielding to this temptation, for only a *very small number* of phonological features among languages which might present patterns like C and D can really go to establish genetic relationship between the languages under discussion. Again while a majority of regular parallelisms in *concrete* morphological systems or in coherent parts of them might go to establish genetic relationship between any two languages, a certain *very small number* of regular parallelisms in concrete morphological systems (as well as perhaps a few *general morphological procedures* also) may *not* indicate genetic relationship between the languages under discussion and therefore are necessarily beyond the comparative method. It follows, therefore, as a corollary that all that appear as very regular parallelisms even in the *concrete* morphological systems cannot be taken as definite criteria for the determination of the genetic relationship between any two languages i.e. there may be a small residuum (however small it be) among what on the surface appear to be very regular parallelisms even in the features (features which are not general procedures as inflexion or deflexion, but *concrete* forms found actually existing) belonging to the *concrete* morphological systems—where we cannot at all operate with the tool of the *comparative method*. It is no doubt possible too that even some general procedures of morphology might perhaps belong

1. See SAPIR, *Sound Patterns in Language*, *Language* Vol. I, 1925, p. 46.  
2. SAPIR, *Ibid.* p. 47.

to this realm.<sup>3</sup> Thus we are able to *abstract* from the entire range of linguistic phenomena available for objective study, certain *phonological features* and certain very special *morphological features* (to which it may be possible to add a very special type of *syntactical features* also) where the operational efficiency of the *comparative method* might be questioned. This region might be well defined as the realm of "Ethno-Psychology". Linguistic phenomena belonging to this realm require a deeper *psychological* explanation.<sup>4</sup> The term "ethno-psychology" must not lead anyone to suppose that a correlation between race and language is sought to be established. It is a fundamental and governing idea in modern linguistics that such a correlation does not exist. Certain speech phenomena among unrelated families of languages do strikingly reveal certain deep-rooted mental habits of the different speech communities. It is these mental habits which are comprised under the term "ethno-psychology."

We proceed to give below some examples by way of illustration :

I. Some possible examples of *phonological parallelisms* (semantophonetic parallelisms). 5

1. Jingle formation (See C. R. SANKARAN and G. S. GAI, "Some Ethno-psychological Features in Dravidian," *Bull. D C R I*, Vol. II, p. 209)

2. Prothesis (See C. R. SANKARAN and G. S. GAI, *ibid.* p. 210)

These are instances of semanto-phonetic parallelisms very interesting to the students of *psychological linguistics*. For instance, the changes \**ar* > *yāru* 'who, in Kannada and primitive Dravidian \**ēn* > \**yēn* > Tamil *yān* 'I' might have been due to the excessive concentration and the consequent emphasis of articulatory and *psychic energy* on these words by the speakers of the old language under discussion. In other words, the initial strong *dynamic accent*, we find in these words, might have been due to an irresistible subjective intention<sup>6</sup> and this *dynamic accent* inevitably might in its turn have led to the *objective refraction* by introducing the phoneme *y* initially.

Here it must be borne in mind that it might be also a purely chance coincidence that there are close resemblances between certain speech-forms belonging to unrelated languages. These need not necessarily belong to the realm of "ethno-psychology" e.g. the Fox *Magi* 'big' seems to correspond to Latin *Mag-nus*, and Fox *yā*-'go', and Skt. *yā*; Fox-'site' 'if he, she be' (auxiliary, Latin *sit* Fox-'*si*, -*t*, -*é*; Lat. *s-i-t*), Fox -*guni*- 'day', and Turkish *gun*-. These may be merely chance coincidences as T. Michelson points out.<sup>7</sup> To this category might belong also proto-Dravidian \**ēn* and Magyar *ēn* (1st person pronoun singular).<sup>8</sup>

II Some possible examples of regular parallelisms in *concrete* morphological forms :

1. Middle Demonstrative :—

*he'e* or *he-* in Tonkawa seems to be the middle Demonstrative<sup>9</sup> and Coeur De'

3. No doubt modern students of linguistics (of course following the orthodox *comparative method*) like GRAFF (*Language and Languages*, p. 351) recognize that regular parallelisms in *concrete* morphological systems or in coherent parts of them *only generally* go to establish the genetic relationship between any two languages.

4. That certain linguistic phenomena require a deeper psychological explanation is quite evident by the very use of such special nomenclatures as "the emotional dative in Latin *ei*" (E. W. FAY, CQ. 5, 195, section 33) and "the infinitive of excitement in Latin" (E. W. FAY, AJP, 40, 1919, p. 418). See also our paper, *Bull. D C R I*, Vol. II, 1940, p. 208, f. n. 1 a.

5. See GRAFF, *op. cit.* p. 277.

6. Cf. GRAFF, *Op. cit.* p. 182.

7. *Jour. Washington Academy of Science*, Vol. 9, p. 230 ff. and *American Journal of Phil.* Vol. 40, 1919, p. 320.

8. C. R. SANKARAN, *Bull. D C R I*, Vol. I 1939, p. 98.

9. See, *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, ed. by Franz BOAS, part 3, 1933-38, p. 124.

Alene too seems to possess the middle demonstrative<sup>10</sup>. Dravidian and Santali too have the middle demonstrative<sup>11</sup>.

## 2. Inclusive and Exclusive First Person Plural<sup>12</sup>.

It is interesting to note here that the distinction between the inclusive and exclusive first person plural (an "ethno-psychological" *lecture*—common to many unrelated languages) cannot be posited in the proto-Dravidian for this distinction does not seem to be linked up (within the Dravidian field) with any other grammatical phenomenon<sup>13</sup>. The middle demonstrative element *u* on the other hand, can be traced to the proto-Dravidian, for not only it is possible to discover its trace in almost all the Dravidian languages (and particularly its presence in literary languages like Kannada and Tamil can be traced in various periods<sup>14</sup>, but also because of its possible *psychological connection* with another phenomenon belonging to the realm of verb-morphology in the two important Dravidian languages, Kannada and Tamil<sup>15</sup>.

## 3. The Distinction of nouns as 'living' and 'dead' words.

In Yuchik too, this distinction between 'animate' and 'inanimate' seems to exist.<sup>16</sup> Tamil has this distinction<sup>17</sup>.

## 4. Recognition of kinds and degrees of personality<sup>18</sup>.

### III. Some possible examples of *Syntactical parallelisms* :

#### 1. Compositional stringing of verbal stems standing grammatically in one line.<sup>19</sup>

#### 2. Functional Syncretism.<sup>20</sup>

#### 3. Compounding with the finite verb, words denoting the limbs of the body<sup>21</sup>.

#### 4. Dative of kinship<sup>22</sup>.

The concept of *Primeval Relationship* has at its basis the assumption of genetic relationship of the Pre-historic languages (Reconstructed *Ursprache*). The assumption that the prehistoric languages were wholly unrelated lies at the basis of the concept of *borrowing*. These were the concepts of the early Neo-Grammarians. But what at first sight seems to be the most difficult assumption which crudely put would read something like the following: "certain pre-historic languages were neither *wholly related* nor *wholly unrelated*" seems to be the only assumption that explains satisfactorily certain facts found in primitive languages which have happily survived to this day. In the complex world of actual linguistic history, there cannot be drawn sharp lines between some pre-historic languages, as certain linguistic facts do not work out along neatly schematic lines<sup>23</sup>. This is particularly pointed out by the investigations of eminent scholars like Hugo SCHUCHARDT, Franz BOAS and C. C. UHLENBECK<sup>24</sup>.

We have already pointed out following MALINOWSKI<sup>25</sup>, that "Ethno-psychological" features require a deeper explanation than any which would confine itself to

10. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 656.

11. See our paper in the *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. VII, 1939, pp. 242-250 especially p. 246 for Santali.

12. See our paper "Some Ethno-psychological Features in Dravidian," p. 210 and also G. S. GAI, *Bull., D C R I* Vol. I, p. 411.

13. See C. R. SANKARAN, *Bull., D C R I*, Vol. I, 1939, p. 99.

14. See our paper in the *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. VII, pp. 242-50.

15. See our paper, *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. VII, f. n. 7 pp. 244-45 and also pp. 249-50.

16. Cf. WAGNER, *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, pt. 3, 1938, p. 341.

17. See our paper, "Ethno-psychological Features in Dravidian", p. 208, I. n. 1a. *Bull., D C R I*, Vol. II, 1940.

18. See our paper referred to above p. 211

19. See our paper *Bull., D C R I* Vol. II, p. 208.

20. See *ibid.*, pp. 209-10. 21. See *ibid.* p. 209. 22. See *Ibid* p. 210.

23. See E. Sapir, *Language*, Vol. I, 1925, p. 47.

24. See our paper in the *Bull., D C R I*, Vol. II, 1940, p. 208.

25. *Bull., D C R I* Vol. II, No. 1-2, p. 208. f. n. 1. (a).

merely Grammatical relation. Indeed on the basis of psychological analysis alone certain difficulties associated with what appear to be exclusively linguistic problems could be solved<sup>26</sup>.

A. L. KROEBER and C. D. CHRÉTIEN<sup>27</sup> have attempted to clearly demonstrate that strictly quantitative methods could be applied for the determination of the *degree of similarity* of genetically related languages included in any one family. Their application of statistical methods<sup>28</sup> very remarkably appear not merely to confirm the results already arrived at by the *comparative method* (which is the bed-rock of linguistics) but also the view held by scholars like E. H. STURTEVANT (who take their stand on the usual comparative method) that Hittite is cognate with the PIE itself<sup>29</sup>. Thus it appears that the validity of the application of the statistical method to purely linguistic phenomena seems to be effectively demonstrated. It is therefore only the next logical step that one should think of using this tool of statistics for the study of *convergence* (i.e. an inquiry into how often *unrelated* languages independently develop similar feature)<sup>30</sup>. The orthodox *comparative method* does certainly fail to operate in this region as it has undoubtedly failed until very recently when 'primeval relationship' and 'borrowing' were thought to be entirely two distinct concepts<sup>31</sup>. We therefore are led to believe that the problem of Ethno-psychological features bristles with an immense possibility in that it might be fruitful to apply the rigorous statistical methods for the discovery of the fundamental psychological laws governing human speech which we have already envisaged<sup>32</sup>. To this end the problem will have a methodological importance.

It has occurred to us that in order to further ensure the validity of this procedure suggested by us in exploring this region of 'ethno-psychology', we must first examine the statistical technique applied to linguistic phenomena by Kroeber and Chrétien themselves. So one of us with a mathematician friend have been re-examining the data of KROEBER and CHRÉTIEN by separating morphology from phonology and finding out their separate coefficients. This analysis is showing signs of practically deranging Kroeber-Chrétien coefficients and has already tempted us to think that not only is our suggestion of applying a perfected statistical technique to the region we define as that of "ethno-psychology" is worth pursuing but also that we will get many new ideas in quite an unexpected manner about many a linguistic phenomenon (with strictly objective standards) of which it has been so far supposed that the *comparative method* has said almost the last word. But as this re-examination of KROEBER-CHRÉTIEN method is not yet over and when completed will be presented in a separate paper<sup>33</sup>, we refrain from saying anything on that subject just at present.<sup>34</sup>

Poona,

C. R. SANKARAN,

G. S. GAI.

26. C. R. SANKARAN, *Bull., D C R I.*, Vol. I, p. 100 f. n. 1.

27. A. L. KROEBER and C. D. CHRÉTIEN, *Language*, Vol. 13, 1937, pp. 83-103. Also *Language*, Vol. 15, 1939, p. 71. See also C. D. CHRÉTIEN, *Univ., Calif., Publication in Linguistics* Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 11-20.

28. A. L. KROEBER and C. D. CHRÉTIEN, *Language*, Vol. 15, pp. 69-71.

29. Witness for instance, E. H. STURTEVANT's paper in *Language*, Vol. 15, 1939, pp. 11-19.

30. A. L. KROEBER and C. D. CHRÉTIEN, "The Statistical Technique and Hittite", *Language*, Vol. 15, 1939, p. 71.

31. C. C. UHLENBECK, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 39, 1937, p. 390. Vide also C. R. SANKARAN and G. S. GAI, *Bull., D C R I.*, Vol. II, 1940, p. 208 f. n. 2.

32. C. R. SANKARAN and G. S. GAI, *ibid.* pp. 208, 211.

33. A paper on this subject by C. R. SANKARAN and P. JAGANNATHAN is in the course of preparation.

34. This paper was read at the All India Oriental Conference held at Hyderabad in December, 1941.

## REVIEWS

*Chinese Frescoes : A study of three Wall-Paintings of the Thirteenth Century* by William Charles WHITE. (Museum Studies, Number 3). University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Canada, 1940. Pp. xvii, 230. Price \$ 4.00, 76 illustrations.

The present work is concerned with three large temple frescoes, now in the Chinese Collection of the Royal Ontario Museum, which originally came from South Shansi, and are considered as dating to the thirteenth century A.D. As the author expressly states, these studies are based on objects or material in the collections of the Museum, mainly with the general public in mind, and therefore keeping at minimum data of a technical nature, or extensive foot-notes and references. This popular objective and method has been purposely employed to enable the public of the West to comprehend the background and associations of these museum objects in a generally accurate manner and to stimulate them to further and more extensive enquiry thereby. We can endorse this statement by our own personal reactions to the volume and suggest to the museums in this country the following up of this method with reference to our own art objects.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part, consisting of the general introduction, contains 11 chapters : Chinese Wall-paintings, 2. Existing Chinese Frescoes, 3. Technique, 4. The Historical Background, 5. Location and Date, 6. Local Investigations, 7. Contemporary Wooden Figures, 8. Wu Tao-tzu, the Master, 9. Buddhist Paradises, 10. Stellar Deities and 11. Mailed Warrior Types. Part II consists of a description of the Three Frescoes. The Paradise of Maitreya, The Lord of the Northern Dipper and The Lord of the Southern Dipper. Of the 76 illustrations of figures and the frontispiece, four are colour reproductions and the rest are half-tone. The Index is very helpful.

The letter-press, binding, and the reproductions of the illustrations are of the highest possible merit and leave nothing to be desired. If Museums can produce such general studies wherein are gathered together and coordinated the information already available through the scholarly and specialised labours of others, thus bringing within the reach of intelligent persons the most authentic information on the particular objectives, they will seriously vie with the Universities in instilling a spirit of inquiry and critical appreciation of the exhibits displayed in these generally unappreciated buildings. This is particularly true of our own country where such aids to appreciation, and we may be permitted to add : 'critical appreciation' of the art objects preserved in museums all over, are few and far between.

S. M. K.

*Studies in the History of Culture : The Disciplines of the Humanities.* Published for the Conference of Secretaries of the American Council of Learned Societies by the George Banta Publishing Company, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1942. Pp. viii, 331.

According to the Foreword of Percy W. LONG, the Chairman of the Conference of Secretaries and editor of this book, the twenty-one papers in this volume form the body of a tribute presented to Waldo Gifford LELAND, Director of the American Council of Learned Societies, in recognition of his distinguished services to the history of culture and to the cooperation of the humanities. They were chosen for each Society by its Secretary in consultation with its delegates, the design being to present an example of each discipline, often in its relation with another discipline.

Within a short review it is not possible to enter into detailed questions arising out of this volume.

The table of contents is significant and explains the full scope of the volume under review. Campbell BONNER for the American Philological Association begins the volume with a paper entitled 'Eyes That See and Ears That Hear'. Then follow the remaining papers as under : W. F. ALBRIGHT (for the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis): The Role of Canaanites in the history of Civilization ; E. A. SPEISER (American Oriental Society): Some Sources of Intellectual and Social Progress in the Ancient Near East ; George SARTON (American Philosophical Society) : Eskualherria ; Robert P. B. LAKE (American Academy of Arts and Sciences) : The Monetary Reform of Anastasius I and Its Economic Implications ; George C. MILES (American Numismatic Society) : Tutush, Ephemeral Sultan ; E. K. RAND (Mediaeval Academy of America) : The Metamorphosis of Ovid in *Le Roman de la Rose* ; Robert B. HALL (Association of American Geographers) : The Road in Old Japan ; W. A. NEILSON (Modern Language Association of America) : On Milton's Conception of Poetry ; Gilbert CHINARD (American Historical Association) : Montesquieu's historical Pessimism ; Leonae! BLOOMFIELD (Linguistic Society of America) : Philosophical Aspects of Language ; Franz BOAS (American Anthropological Association) : Language and Culture ; W. B. DINSMOOR (Archaeological Institute of America) : The Correlation of Greek Archaeology with History ; F. H. KNIGHT (American Economic Association) : Some Notes on the Economic Interpretation of History ; W. F. OGBURN (American Sociological Society) : Inventions, Population and History ; Randolph G. ADAMS (Bibliographical Society of America) : Iconography of Old Detroit ; R. W. G. VAIL (American Antiquarian Society) : Moody's *School of Good Manners* : a Study in American Colonial Etiquette ; Jees S. REEVES (American Society of International Law) : International Law in a Troubled World ; C. J. DUCASSE (American Philosophical Association) : John Herschel's Philosophy of Science ; Chauncey D. LEAKE (History of Science Society) : Science Implies Freedom ; and Joseph P. CHAMBERLAIN (American Political Science Association) : Cooperation in the Study of Political Science.

This cooperative effort on the part of the learned societies in America effected through their Council of Learned Societies happily demonstrates that unity of sciences in the domain of knowledge which other American Universities and Learned Societies are trying to establish through a series of very learned monographs and books. The names of the contributors are a sufficient guarantee for the high standard attained by this volume which is itself a fitting tribute to Director LELAND who has contributed so largely to the co-operative efforts of the Council of which he was so long the leading member. No similar institute or council seems to exist in other countries, coordinating the activities of all the scientific bodies in the country as a whole. Of course bodies like the British Academy or the various Academies in pre-War Europe may have served a similar purpose. But there is something in this Council of Learned Societies worth emulating in other countries in the world, and this concrete illustration shows the all round value of the Disciplines of the Humanities which touch so many sides of the cultural life of the world. More intensive and practical studies of this cultural life are needed today than ever before in the history of humanity, for when human values are in the melting pot and rank destruction of all that is sacred and dear to every human being is going on in this global war with unprecedented ferocity, a reassessment of all the past cultural values in terms of the future of humanity is as great a necessity as the other branches of science which have an immediate, practical and commercial value.

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